THE PANDYAN TOWNSHIPS

PART - II

THE PANDYAN TOWNSHIPS, THEIR ORGANISATION AND FUNCTIONING

R. TIRUMALAI

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(The Pandyan Townships, their Organisation and Functioning)

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Dedicated to
the memory of
Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

The late Mr. R. Tirumalai, IAS, was not only an able administrator, who held the high rank of Secretary to the Government of India, but also a distinguished scholar in historical and epigraphical studies. He was a student of the revered doyen of South Indian history, the late Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri. He retained his interest in ancient history and epigraphy even after joining the IAS and untiringly devoted himself to research in these fields throughout his administrative career and after retirement. This book bears the stamp of his keen intellect, his meticulous scholarship and his first-hand knowledge of the ancient as well as modern systems of administration. His book is a welcome addition to the studies in South Indian history which are few and far between.

The Department of Archaeology of the Government of Tamilnadu has already published three of his historical works: 1.Rajendra Vinnagar (1980) 2.Studies in Ancient Townships of Pudukkottai(1981) 3.Collected papers(1994). The present work titled **'The Pandyan Townships'** is the fourth and the last book written by Mr.Tirumalai shortly before his death in 1997. The book is published in two parts - Part I dealing with the ancient geography of the Pandyan townships and Part II dealing with life in these townships in all their multi-faceted aspects. This tremendous work of scholarship, which is the outcome of a lifetime of research on Pandyan inscriptions, will be a boon to scholars interested in the social and economic history of the Pandyan period.

My predecessor, Thiru Natana.Kasinathan, deserves appreciation for taking the initiative to publish this work, and it is my good fortune to see his efforts bear fruit during my time. I am especially grateful to Tmt.R.Vasanthakalyani, Epigraphist and Tmt.B.Valarmathi, P.C. to Commissioner for their unstinted co-operation and assistance in editing this Volume.

K. Ashok Vardhan Shetty, IAS,
Commissioner of Archaeology.

PREFACE

The Pandyan Townships Part I and II are the outcome of my intense research based on the Pandyan Epigraphs, most of which remain unpublished as yet. This was greatly facilitated by the Jawaharlal Nehru Fellowship granted to me for two years 1983-85 by the Jawaharlal Nehru Trust. I am deeply sensible of the honour conferred on me which has enabled me to intensively research into the vast unpublished material; and bring out this pioneer work on the Pandyan Townships.

I thank the Jawaharlal Nehru Trust for this generous funding of the Project. The collection of materials alone has taken over two years. I had also to tap other sources, the Tamil Nadu Department of Archaeology and the secondary sources. The total output as a result was too much to be compressed into one volume. I have, therefore, published the histories of some individual Pandyan Townships in my "Collected Papers". Part-I of this work contains the historical geography of the Pandyan Townships. The substantive content of life in the Pandyan Townships in all their multi-faceted aspects is dealt with in Part-II. The Introduction Chapter sets out the scope and content of Part-II. It is appropriate that the three works are being published by the State Department of Archaeology.

It is my privilege to acknowledge the great interest evinced by the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Dr.M.Karunanidhi and the Minister for Tamil Development, Dr.M.Tamizhkudimagan in publishing this work. I have had the privilege of working with both of them and it is indeed an act of their personal kindness and attachment to me that they encourage me in publishing these two volumes of original work. It also evidences the interest they have in bringing out new aspects of Tamil Culture and original research in the history of Tamil Nadu.

I am grateful to Thiru. V.Palanichamy, Secretary, Tamil Development and Culture and Thiru. Natana Kasinathan, Director of Archaeology in expediting

the printing and publication. I also thank the Government of Tamil Nadu for the munificent grant for getting this work in two parts printed in the Government Press, Chennai. My thanks are also due to the Government Press for the neat execution of this work.

I had made a series of visits to Mysore to collect copies and transcripts of the Pandyan inscriptions. The then Director of Epigraphy Dr.K.V.Ramesh evinced a great deal of interest in my work and extending help to me with all the transcripts from the Pandyan Kingdom being collections over a century by the department. The Chief Epigraphist Dr.Madhav N.Katti and the other officers of the Department also were generous in helping me at all times. My collegues in Karnataka Government made my stay at Mysore very comfortable and afforded me all assistance through the Administrative Training Institute and its Director. To them all, my thanks are due.

I have made this topographical study comprehensive. But a mere listing of place names and their locations can be meaningful only if it is accompanied by maps. The Survey Department of Tamil Nadu Government helped me in preparing the original maps under my direction and guidance. They have been approved for unrestricted publication by the Ministry of Defence and by the Surveyor General of India, Dehradun. My sincere thanks are due to the Joint Secretary Sri A.K.Jain of the Ministry of Defence and to Major General L.M.Deothra, Additional Surveyor General of India, Dehradun. But for the painstaking efforts of the Survey Department of Tamil Nadu Government and its officers, the maps could not have been accomplished. I am greatly indebted to the Commissioners and Director of Survey - Thiru. Meikanda Devan, I.A.S., Thiru. K.Sampathkumar, I.A.S., and the Additional and the Assistant Directors and Sri. Ramachandran, Senior Draughtsman and his assistants in helping me in not only preparing the original maps but also in printing them in the photo offset press of the Survey Department for being attached to this Part.

I have pleasure in acknowledging the secretarial assistance rendered to me in bringing out this volume by my personal staff Thiru. R.Krishnakumar and

Thiru. R.Balasubramanian, Dr.A.Rangan and Miss. Sruthi Rangan also helped me. My thanks are due to them. My wife took a great deal of interest and took on herself arranging the chapters and getting the manuscript ready for printing.

It is hoped that scholars will find this original work useful and it will stimulate further studies.

I have pleasure in acknowledging the generous funding for the study granted to me by the Jawaharlal Nehru Trust and the honour conferred on me as a Jawaharlal Nehru Fellow. I am proud to associate this work with the name of the Great National Leader himself a historian who wrote and made history.

This work is hence dedicated to the memory of the late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

R. TIRUMALAI
(1997)

The publishing of this work was one of the last wishes of my late husband, who passed away on 8th September 1997 after fulfilling his desire to write Part I and Part II of "PANDYAN TOWNSHIPS". I thank the State Department of Archaeology, Government of Tamil Nadu for bringing out this volume.

(Mrs. SRIVARAMANGAI TIRUMALAI)

ACRONYMS

ARE	:	Annual Report of Epigraphy
Dt.	:	District
Cm	:	Caturvedimangalam
EI.	:	Epigraphia Indica
Jat.	:	Jatavarman
K	:	Kollam
Kon.	:	Konerinmai Kondan
Mar.	:	Maravarman
Par.	:	Parakesari
Raj.	:	Rajakesari
Ram.	:	Ramanathapuram
S.	:	Saka
SII	:	South Indian Inscriptions
Skl.	:	Sankarankoil
Tk.	:	Taluk: Svg. : Sivagangai Tin. : Tirunelveli

THE PANDYAN TOWNSHIPS

PART - II

THE PANDYAN TOWNSHIPS, THEIR ORGANISATION AND FUNCTIONING

The Pandyan Townships

Introduction:

This work incorporates the results of the original research on the Pāṇḍyan Townships which I have carried out over a period of 7 years. This work has been greatly facilitated by the grant in the form of Fellowship from the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund for a period of 2 years from 1983-85.

The work mainly depends upon the Pāṇḍyan Inscriptions. The published inscriptions are but few, compared to the total volume available. Hence the 2 years were mainly taken up by the study, copying and analysis of a large volume of unpublished inscriptions available with the Epigraphy wing of the Central Department of Archaeology. My greatful appreciation is due to the then Director of Epigraphy Dr.K.V.Ramesh and the Chief Epigraphist to the Government of India Shri Katti for making available this large corpus of unpublished inscriptions in their custody.

While studying the unpublished inscriptions, it came to light that there were a number of inscriptions originally copied by the Department of Archaeology but the estampages for which have become worn out due to efflux of time. Some new inscriptions also have to be copied and some of the earlier ones denovo. The Director of Epigraphy kindly undertook to fill this lacunae and has since furnished me with the copies of most of these inscriptions required. My work would not have been complete but for this prompt and effective assistance of the Directorate and my personal gratitude to the Director of Epigraphy has become many fold.

The copper plates of the period form another good branch of the evidence and these have also been harnessed.

I have utilised the evidence that can be culled from literary sources, but in its very nature this is but comparative or corroborative in nature and meagre in quantum.

Hence the work is essentially an interpretative analysis of the data found in the inscriptions. This analysis is for a large part original but acknowledgedly utilises the results of investigations by pioneers and savants like Hulzch, Venkiah, K.V.Subramanya Iyer, T.N.Subramanian and above all, Prof.K.A.Nilakanta Sastri.

The attempt is "**to go the fountain and drink**," closely following the texts and piecing up the usages from several epigraphs and in relation to the context in which they occur. It is hoped that this methodology has helped in improving our knowledge of the diction and terminology of the times and brings out the true import of the texts.

Scope of the work:

This work aims at reconstructing the social and economic conditions in the Pāṇḍyan Townships not merely in their contours, but analysing all the implications of the data that can be marshalled from the inscriptions.

While indexing the inscriptions, it struck me that a totally new aspect of work is well worth attempting. The available data lent itself easily for locating the places important and not so important, the Nāḍus in which they were located and where the division was a Vaḷanāḍu, such Vaḷanāḍus could also be identified. The more dense the date, the territorial boundaries of the Nādu could also be delineated. But the published inscriptions had left a lot of gaps. As a rule, identification was easy and definite if the place name occurs in an inscription in its place of occurrence. Hence, at my request the Director of Epigraphy was kind enough to furnish me with fresh inscriptions copied in the later years and these were of great avail. The result of this work is reflected in the reconstructed Historical Geography of the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom. This work itself has become sufficiently elaborate, fit enough to be published as the first part of the work.

Arrangement of the Chapters

The whole work is published in 2 parts. Part I consists of the Historical Geography of the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom. The general features of this reconstruction are set out in the introductory chapter of that part. The detailed territorial

divisions and the principal places of interest therein as revealed in the inscriptions are set out in the pages that follow. The territorial divisions are marked out in the 3 maps included. Contiguity of the Nāḍus has been maintained as far as the evidence would permit. The changes in the formation of the nādus or Vaḷanāḍus and the changes in the territorial ambit in which particular places were situated have also been noticed. They are only a few.

Place names and territorial divisions have been named and renamed in the context of Cōḷa occupation of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. These have been noticed and the restoration of the names agreeably to the Pāṇḍyas after they re-asserted their authority has also been brought out.

This part of the work provides a secure geographical basis to identify places and to approximately ascertain the spread of the nādus. Besides, it provides a basis on which the nativity of several officers of the kingdom could be ascertained. These could blaze the trail for further lines of research indicated by me.

Part II reconstructs the social and economic conditions not in any general way but in the particular context of the data thrown up. The first chapter deals with the conditions upto the tenth century, during the period the "Pāṇḍyas of the First empire", as Prof.Sastri has approximately termed it. The second chapter onwards deal with conditions during the period of the Cōḷas from the end of the 10th century to the beginning of the 13th. The Pāṇḍyan supremacy was reasserted by about the later date. Significant changes in tenures and the modes of levy of land dues had occurred. The economic stress felt in particular tracts and the land colonisation noticed in the kingdom has been described. Particular attention has been paid to the role of the community in the creation and maintenance of public utilities like irrigation tanks or drinking water sources or construction of dwelling places etc

So then, the book aims at presenting the community life and organisation spread over 5 countries as realistically as possible, based on authentic data that can be extracted from the epigraphs. New aspects of life like the food and dietary habits, the condition and yield of milch cattles and animals and several

other aspects not hitherto brought out have been now incorporated in this research work perhaps for the first time.

I wish to express my gratefulness to the Jawaharlal Nehru Trust which made this work possible. It is a humble but fitting tribute perhaps to a great son of India who not only wrote History but also made it.

My particular thanks are due to Dr.K.V.Ramesh, the Director of Epigraphy and Dr.Katti and his other collegues for unstintingly supplying me with copies of a large number of unpublished inscriptions.

The University of Madras has invited me to deliver a series of lectures explaining the results of my research which I accepted. The lectures were delivered early in 1993 and the Madras University has graciously accepted to print the work in 2 parts of their publication under their Madras University Archaeological series. I am grateful to the University and the Vice-Chancellor for this recognition of my work. I am particularly grateful to Prof.K.V.Raman, Head of the Department of ancient Indian History who evinced a great deal of interest in the methodologies that I have adopted and my findings. I am also grateful to a host of other friends. The Commissioner of Survey and Settlement Shri Meikanda Devan has rendered invaluable assistance to me in help offered for preparing the maps on the basis of my studies. The officers of the Survey Department also helped me with their expertise. I readily acknowledge this technical work of theirs which has made my work more intelligible and easy of understanding.

I have had the assistance of others like Sri.R.Krishnakumar and R.V.Seshapani and Dr.Rangan who spared their leisure in making copies for the print. Others like Dr.Vagula went through the manuscripts and offered suggestions. To my wife I owe a special debt, as she not only stood by me in my long hours of work but also relieved me of all other responsibilities to concentrate on the work. To almost all others who helped in this work I owe my thanks.

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THE PANDYAN TOWNSHIPS

I. INTRODUCTION

In planning the studies of Pudukkōṭṭai Townships I wrote on the scope of and justification for Township studies as below :

The History of Townships, wrote Maitland, appeals to a wice range of sympathies. It traces the beginnings and development of the community activity and its organised behaviour, in its natural location. It depicts the played by the institutions collective or communal, local and royal in the everyday life of the community and individuals. It helps identify the change wrought on these institutions and their activities over the ages, by political and social forces at work. It pictures the agrarian community formations and brings out available facts of economic and social history related to or conditioned by such formations. It also, in a manner concratises the juristic concepts of the times and aids the study of historical and sociological jurisprudence - the former as a continuing stream and latter as a study of jurisprudence in the social setting of the times. Individuals who had played a noteworthy role in the affairs of the Townships present themselves as live characters on the scence and their joys and sorrows are sometimes reflected in it. In short, by fixing the community in its natural setting and environment the study of Townships helps recapture their variety, their cohesion and integrity, and the intensity of life and activity within, in their local habitations with their names.

The term Township needs an explanation. In modern usage it has come to be appropriated by a part of human settlements in an urban concentration. Etymologically, it is derived from the German word *Tun*, meaning a hedge. It not only refers to a well-marked territorial area but also the community - the *Comunitas* - inhabiting it. Its connotation is agrarian and it denotes land, the habitation in its confines and the community residing in it. It aptly denotes the area of the community's interests and activities, their agricultural pursuits and identity. The term Township, then, is an apt rendering of the Tamil term *Ūr*, (or Grāma in Sanskrit) which, of course, carries with it, the *Ūrār*. For the *Ūr* without the *Ūrār*, is an eggshell without the egg.

The subject is best studied in as compact a tract-as possible with geographical homogeneity and social cohesiveness. It will be as tempting as it is easy to generalise, stringing together pieces of evidence from diverse contexts and locations and find some verisimilitude in them all. That will not be true history. To steer clear of the error of historical averaging and to recapture the townships functioning in its fullness, and not merely in its contours, the subject is best dealt with tract by tract.

With these observations in mind this book aims at reconstructing the authentic history of the townships in the Pandyan kingdom for the period 9th to the 15th century spanning 6 centuries.

Sources

The sources for this reconstruction are mainly epigraphic-inscriptions, published and unpublished. Only a small number of inscriptions copied by the Epigraphist Department upto 1909 have been published. The volume of those unpublished (i.e. from 1908 onwards) is large. A work of this kind essentislly has to draw the data from the texts of inscriptions, as they alone can afford the full detail and import of the transactions recorded.

In addition, the Tamil literary works, including the unpublished palm leaf manuscripts in the Oriental Manuscripts Library and Dr. U. V. Swaminatha Aiyer Library and Prof. S Vaiyapuri Pillai collections have been made use of. The narrations in the traditional accounts having a bearing on historical events have also been utilised.

Inherent constraints

As the interpretation of the epigraphic evidence requires the unravelling of the meaning of the several terms that occur, the work has covered a wide of evidence and reassessed the interpretations already made by the earlier scholars. The task, in this respect, is not easy. It will be a great asset to compile a Tamil Epigraphical Glossary, to bring out the specific import of the language of the inscriptions. This task should engage the attention of scholars interested in Tamil language and history. Beginnings have already been made in the Tamil Lexicon published first in 1924-1936 and reissued in 1982 by the Madras University. But the noble work needs to be carried forward and enlarged. For one thing, the texts of inscriptions available at the time the Lexicon was complied were limited. For another, many a term that occurred in the inscriptions has still to be interpreted to bring out its contemporary import. It is heartening to note that the ICHR has since launched on compiling an Epigraphical Dictionary and this felt want would be met at least partially.

The paucity of published inscriptions has imposed another constraint on the sociological and economic historian. The political framework and the chronological sequence have been already worked out in outline by Prof. K.A.N. Sastri in his ***Pāṇḍyan Kingdom***. that pioneer classic still holds the field. There are many gaps still to be supplied and many identifications still to be made or confirmed. Prof. Sastri has himself revised some of his statements later in his History of South India. In view of these

inadequacies, the sequence of events in a socio-economic history of a tract is apt to be somewhat puzzling and indeterminate. From the contextual occurrance and circumstancial evidence this sequence has been sought to be surmised as far as possible.

The inherent constraints above, are to some extent, mitigated by the micro-study of a limited and defined tract. The integrity of the location where the inscriptions occur and to which they relate helps preserve and reflect the particularities involved. Together they limit the scope for generalisation, which would otherwise be wide off the mark, and narrow the margin of error. It is a distinct advantage of the Township study that it enables us to see steadily the social structure and the transaction with which society is bound up. Viewing these steadily we view it whole.

This introductory chapter provides the geo-physical and the historical background to the extent they are relevant for the history of the townships that follows. The historical background is intended to fix the time-spread of particular or distinct period of the history of the tract so that the sequence of events set out can be fastended to each period. It will also enable the growth factors, and the changes in the agrarian conditions and society, some of them of a transitory and others of an enduring nature. These latter have their impact on the history of individual townships and the tract as a whole.

Territorial Extent

The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom had extended from Kanyākumari and the coast upto the Veḷḷāru region in Pudukkōṭṭai. Some of the Pāṇḍyas of the First empire, like Varaguṇa I (730-65) and Varaguṇa II (862-907) led military expeditions to the north and their inscriptions are noticed in the districts of Tiruchirāpaḷḷi and Thañjāvūr. During the 13th century Māṟavarman Sundara I (acc. 1216) had similar exploits. Jaṭ. Sundara Pāṇḍya I and Jaṭ. Vīra Pāṇḍya (AD 1251, 1253) had extended their sway right upto Kāñcīpuram and Māṟ. Kulaśēkhara I (AD 1268) held the modern districts of Tiruchirapaḷḷi, Thañjāvūr and South Arcot as part of his possessions and had appointed his brothers or other prince to be in charge of parts of these tracts.

For purposes of this study the region has been confined to the modern undivided districts of Tirunelvēli, Rāmanāthapuram and Madurai. The evidence concentrated in these regions is examined belts, rainfed and tank fed tracts and dry lands. These is a second reason. I have already covered the Pudukkōṭṭai tract in my Studies on the History of ancient Townships of Pudukkōṭṭai. The Townships of the Cōḷa heartland I am working on covers Tiruchirapaḷḷi, Thañjāvūr and South Arcot districts.

Geo-physical features :

The Tāmbraparaṇi river is perennial and it gathers the flows of its tributaries, the Cittār, the Gaṭaṇa and Rāmanadi, the Maṇimuthār and Paccaiyar and several other minor streams. The main river takes its origin from the Podigai hills in the Western Ghats descends the northern side of the Ghats in Ambāsamudram Taluk and flows through the plains of Tirunelvēli and Śrīvaikuṇṭam Taluks reaching the sea near Palaiya Kāyal, the ancient sea port of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. The tributaries Gaṭana and Rāmanadi, and Maṇimuthār also take a similar course till they join Tāmbraparaṇi. The first two mingle near Pāppānkuḷam and join the Tāmbraparṇi river near Attāḷanallūr. The Maṇimuthār joins even shed at the foothills near Kallidaikkuricci. The Cittāṟu joins Tāmbraparaṇi rising from the Kaḷakkādu range joins the Tambraparaṇi river east of Cēranmādēvi.

The Tāmbraparaṇi basin is entirely located in Turunelvēli[1] district the southern most district (till the addition of Kanyākumari in 1956) of the Madras State, (Tamilnadu) at the tip of the peninsula. The district has a rich variety. Its geographical features contribute to it. The Western Ghats or the west extending southwards is overgrowth with forests growing teak and other commercial varieties of timber and *shola* forests. Latterly, tea plantations have growth in the higher elevations. The district boundary marks watershed between the Kanyākumari district (the Paḷaiyāṟu, Kōdaiyāṟu, Kuḻitturaiāṟu basin), to the south east of Keraḷa State and to the west of the Ghats. Rivers taking off from the higher reaches of the ridge flow on either side.

The district takes its name from the principal and popular crop, paddy, the main cereal. Tāmbraparaṇi-fed lands in the upper reaches are the most fertile and highest assessed lands, perhaps even in the composite State of Madras. Two paddy crops are assured and it is the principal crop grown. The average yield[2] is also the highest as the figures below will show :

	1904-5 to 1953-4	1918-9 to 1953-54
Chingleput	0.594	0.570
Thañjāvūr	0.692	0.678
Tirunelvēli	0.817	0.784

The yield is the higher in the upper and western part of the basin (Ambāsamudram and Tirunelvēli Taluks) and lessens the farther east at the tail-end in Srivaikuntam and Tiruccendūr Taluks.

One significant feature of the irrigation modes in the basin is the addition to the channels, taking off from the masonry anicuts[3] feeding the direct āyacut (or command) the river waters are taken to the tanks through the channels and stored. The *Calinguls* or surplus weir is so fixed as to allow the surplus over the customary quantities required for the higher up āyacut to pass automatically and freely to the lower down tanks. Hence the surplus of the higher-up tank is the source of supply for the lower down tank. A chain of tanks as far as the gradient could allow and the available total quantum they would sustain had come to be formed. This was a highly developed irrigation system, well balanced, and critically and carefully maintained. Water management was developed to the highest point of efficacy and economy, and no waste was allowed. Tanks located in the depressions low ridges (*Parambu*) could also get supplemented with supplies from the immediate catchment areas ahed surrounding them. The tank system should heve demanded a higher amount of maintenance and care which was a community obligation.

These characteristic modes of irrigation were noticed even in the 8th, to the 11th centuries and should have got enlarged and extended over a time, both beyond, and after. The lay out and irrigation regulation and practices, and even crops grown, had varied as between the purely channel-fed and the tank-fed command areas.

The Tāmbraparaṇi basin in the middle of Tirunelvēli district stretched like a ribbon from west to east. To the south of this ribbon lay red ferrugenous lands of Nāṅgunēri Taluk, and the ribbon lay the red ferrugenous lands of Nāṅgunēri Taluk, and the sandy littoral of Tiruccendūr and Śrīvaikuṇṭam Taluks. Here the porous cup-like depressions impounding rain water sprout out in springs that sustain the paddy crop in the Tēri region with self-springs as the source. Further east and south are the Palmyrah forests extending to the sea coast and tapering off into similar palmyrah growing tracts of Kanyākumari district.

The eastern coast of the district is also famous for the pearl fisheries which were worked out intensively from the earliest known historical times and had contributed to the wealth of Pāṇḍyās.

To the north of the Tāmbraparaṇi basin are the black cotton soils and red ferrugenous soils merging with each other in the taluks of Kōvilpaṭṭi and Śaṅkarankōil and rocky outgrowths. Jungle streams catching the monsoon showers and spats during the season, were arrested at rocky beds or where natural hillocks formed the blocking and diverted into tanks. The chain of tanks also helped in intensive water harvesting and no water was allowed to go unutilised. The Vaippāṟu river runs across the tract, and there were irrigation works undertaken in the 9th century by Pāṇḍyan officials who were great benefactors like Iluppaikkuḍi Kiḻavan.

The Vaigai river and its tributory Śuruḷiyāṟu taking off from Śuruḷi hills winds its way along Sinnamanūr and Madurai and flows eastwards through a number of prosperous townships dating back to the middle ages like Tiruppūvanam, Rājagambhīram, Mānāmadurai, Pārtibanūr, Paramakkuḍi and ultimately joins the sea, after feeding the big tanks of Rājasiṅgamaṅgalam and Rāmanāthapuram big tank, also supplied by it. The showers in the lines during the south-west monsoon and the heavier receipts during the north-east help raise two wet crops, besides plantains, betal in the plains and cardamom on the hill slopes. The vaigai valley head-reach was the highway for the spices grown in the Western Ghats to be taken to the Townships in the east.

The Vaigai valley had rich irrigation potential which was harnessed by diverting flash flows and floods into the tanks. Care was taken also to supplement them with the inflows from immediate catchment areas ahead of every tank. The surplus of the higher up tank supplied the lower down sources in sequence. This was the cradle of civilisation from the historical times.

But one should not imagine that the dry lands raising to the north of the Vaigai and reaching upto the Paḷani hills to the west and the uplands of Pudukkōṭṭai to the north were barren and unoccupied. Several minor streams like Tirumaṇimuthāṟ, Thēnāṟu, (Tiruppattūr) Shaṇmugānadi, and Amarāvati in the Paḷani region and several jungle streams from the hills (in Vēdasandūr, Diṇḍugal and Mēlūr taluks) were intercepted and the water utilised. Where there were no such surface flows or such flows were inadequate well irrigation was extensively resorted to. Epigraphic evidence of the earliest historical periods, say from the 8th century onwards, bring out the value of wells and how highly prized were the lands with wells located within. Even in the high level tracts anicuts across jungle streams and tanks were assiduously built and maintained. Paddy and other irrigated crops were grown extensively. Land settlements even in these arid and dry tracts also been formed even in the 9th century as epigraphical evidence establish. undoubtedly they should have been far anterior to that period. This upland stretch reaches out to the hills forming part of the Eastern Ghats to the south of the Cauvery. The whole tract then was an undulating terrain, uplands which sloped on either side, to be alternated with riverine ribbons or belts. This lent itself to cultivating wet and dry crops, and we have several cases of a whole schedule of land dues charged on the crops raised but only on yielding lands. Invariably the levy was both in kind and in cash, on wet crops but only in cash on dry crops, besides various services that the occupants were bound to render to the Township, the *Nāḍu*, the royal officers, the community and temple-beneficiaries.

Artisans, craftsmen and professions grew alongside to make life richer and fuller in the townships.

The Geo-physical features described above are tailored to provide the background needed to appreciate the history of the Townships, the modes of irrigation they had practised, and the economic impact they had on the community. The arable wet lands were laid in what may be called the open field system and presupposed collective and integrated community-regulation and practices.

The south-west monsoon benefits the rever-flows in the months of June to September and helps raise a broadcast or transplanted paddy, in the first crop called the *kār* which is usually short-term and of the red variety. The north-east monsoon active from October to December, nurtured the long term main crop (*Piśānam*)[4] which is a second crop ripened by the summer which commences from mid-January. The tanks in the trans-riverine tracts benefited most out of the north eastern monsoons on which they were dependent. The dry lands were also cultivated in the middle ages using impounded rain water with irrigated dry crops and inferior grains, where they were inadequate to raise a wet crop.

The diversity of the tracts noticed in Tirunelvēli district has lent support to the view that it provides a text-book model or an epitome of the five-fold classifications of land, in early Tamil literature - viz. *Kuriñji, mullai, marudam, pālai* and *neidal* - the mountainous tracts, grown pastures, the arable cultivated lands and patches and the arid drybelt and to littoral or coast.

The settlements and the occupational bias noticed has also been influenced the characteristic features of these tracts. Also some of the earliest human settlements have been brought to light in the banks of Tāmbraparaṇi at Ādiccanallūr.

Pre-history and early history

The pre-history and the early history of the tract need only be noticed in brief. For one thing, they have not been worked out detail by archaeological excavations and studies. For another the continuity of the Township establishments in historical times with these remote and far off stages of human habitation and endeavours cannot be established as yet.

The archaeology of the district dates back to the Mesolithic stage, though it is not well-defined. Microliths now called late Stone Age tools, have occurred in Sawyerpuram (Tiruccendūr Taluk).[5] The material emplioyed on their preparation consists of jasper, agate, cornelian flint, chat, chalcedony, quartz and other semi-precious stones. The main types are the blade, crescent trapeze, triangle point, beaked engraver and side-and-end scraper. These tiny tools must have been attached singly or collectively to a handle made of wood and bone for effective use as arrow heads, sickles etc.

Foote observed that the Tirunelvēli microliths lay embedded in the fossil sand-dunes (*Teris*) and were stained red by their long content with the ferruginous soil. In 1949 Zenner found Microliths near Tuticorin in a geological section which suggested that some of them may be of considerable antiquity - perhaps 8000 to 6000 BC.[6] It was noticed even a century ago that the Megaliths had existed in Tirunelvēli district at Ādiccanallūr, but no detailed work has followed up.

At Ādiccanallūr[7] Urn-burials without any megalithic appendage in the form of a bounding circle or otherwise has been found in large numbers. Though they cannot be brought strictly into the orbit of megalithic monuments, they seem to be somehow related to them as non-implements, black and red were and fragmenting burials are common to both. There are other notable of Ādiccanallūr is more primitive than the megalithic pottery differences also. The pottery of the other sites. A quantity of bronzework and gold diadems or mouth-pieses not found elsewhere in South India which have typological parallels in Palestine (about 1200 BC) and in Syria and Cyprus were found here. Among the tombs of the early Iron age of the time of Solomon in Palestine an outstanding find was a remarkable three pronged iron fork or a trident similar to the Ādiccanallūr iron tridents. The evidence from Ādiccanallūr also appears to suggest that the worship of Murugan or Vēlan, a popular deity adored in the early Śangam literature, was known at the time. For besides iron tridents, iron banner-bases and representations of the fowl in bronze have been found at Ādiccanallūr. Traces of cloth were found sticking to some bronze objects. The mouth-pieces found also suggest that the practice of wearing them still adopted by the devotees taking Kāvadi (a portable palanquin) to the shrines of Subrahmaṇya or Murugan as at Paḻani could be traced to prehistoric times.[8]

The people of Ādiccanallūr cultivated rice, several earthernware bowls containing the husk of paddy and bronze bowls with grains of rice have been found. The prevailing type of the people in Ādiccanallūr surmised to be the descendants of the Proto-Mediterranean stock.[9]

Thereafter the annual are a blank. At the dawn of history. Jainism had spead to the extreme south. There are quite a few rock-cut caves with beds hewen for the use of the Jain monks. Brāhmi inscriptions have been also noticed at Marugāltalai near Śīvalappēri.[10] It has been read as the rock bed caused to be given by Kāśipan, a Vēḷ.

Ven Kāśipan Kuḍupitta
Kal Kāñchanam[11]

Similar epigraphs are also found elsewere in all the three districts. At Kaḻugumalai, the number of inscriptions is the largest.[12] These are indicators of the antiquity of the human settlements and agricultural extension in the tract which supported them. But the bits of evidence these present are almost each a paranthesis.

The Sangam age (1st to 4th century AD)

The Tamil Brahmi inscriptions can more less be said to synchronise with the sangam age. Of the community and its cobesive life, Prof. Sastri observes.[13]

The *sabhā* or *manṟam* of the king in the capital was the highest court of justice. The sons of Malaiyamān were tried and sentenced and later released by the intercession of Kōvūr Kiḻār, in the *manṟam* of Uṟaiyūr, and pottiyār, after the death of his friend Kōpperñjōḻan, could not near the sight of the same *manṟam* bereft of him. The elders are said and were doubtless expected to laid aside their personal currels when they attended the *sabhā* to help in the adjudication of disputes. We may infer that the assembly was used by the king for purposes of general consultation as well. The Kuṟaḷ clearly a post-sangam work definitely regards the *sabhā* as a general assembly goaling with all affairs. Even less specialized and more entangled in the social and religious complex of village life was the *manṟam*. Each village had its common place of meeting, generally under the shade of a big tree, wher men, women and children met for all the common activities of the village, including sports and pastimes. There may also have been a political side to these rural gatherings, the germ out of which grew the highly organized system of village government which functioned so admirably in later *cōḻa* times.

Land and trade were the chief sources of the royal revenue. The *mā* and *vēli* as measures of land were already known but the kings share of the produce of agriculture is nowhere precisely stated. Foreign trade was important and customs revenue occupied a high place on the receipts side of the budget. The Pattinappālai gives a vivid account of the activity of customs officials in Pukār (Kāvēri-paṭṭinam). Internal transit duties on merchandise moving from place to place were another source of revenue and the roads were guarded night and day by soldiers to prevent smuggling. Moderation in taxation. however, was impressed on the rulers by many vise sayings the poets. If their word may be trusted, booty captured in war was no inconsiderable part of royal resources. The Cōḻās are said to have had a strongly guarded treasury at Kumbakōṇam in the Saṅgam age.

The streets of the capital cities were patrolled at nights by watchmen bearings torches, and the prison formed part of the system of administration.

A connected history of the growth of Townships can be attempted only from about the 8th century i.e. of the Pāṇḍyas of the I Empire as termed by Prof. Sastri.[14]

A brief sketch of the history of the Pāṇḍyas is given below for the limited purpose of providing a time frame to be kept in view in dating the evidence garnered and reconstructing the history of Townships.

Among the early Pāṇḍyas (AD 560 - 920). Varaguṇa I (AD 756 - 815), his son and grandson Śrī Māṟan, Śrī Vallabha (815 - 62) and Varaguṇa II (862 - 85) respectively were the striking personalities who successfully ensured Pāṇḍyan supremacy and expansion.[15] Varaguṇa II had made a grant (AD 874) to Subrahmaṇya Bhaṭārar at Tiruccendūr[16] and four years later from Āraśilār (in South Arcot district) to the temple of Ericcāvuḍaiyār at Ambāsamudram.[17]

During the period the Pāṇḍyas were engaged in enlarging their domination by waging frequent wars against the Āy Chieftains in the South and the Cōḷas and their vassals attached to them in the north like the Irukkuvēḷ chiefs of Koḍumbāḷūr. In the north they also made common cause with the Pallavas against the Cōḷas. The Muttaraiyar chieftains sided the Pāṇḍyas and the Cōḷās who ever was strong at the time.

The Cōḷās from the time of Parāntaka I (AD 907 - 955) were intent on subjugating the Pāṇḍyas. Rājarāja I (985 - 1016) finally succeded in it, and incorporated the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom in the Cōḷā empire. A prince of the Cōḷā family was also appointed by his son Rājēndra I (1012 - 44) as the Viceroy with the title of Cōḷā-Pāṇḍya and with Madurai as his capital. The Cōḷā hold over the tract began to weaken from the latter half of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I (1070 - 1122). Even during his reign, the Pāṇḍyan rulers Jat. Śrī Vallabha (1090 - 1116) Māṟ. Parākrama Pāṇḍya (1087 - 1110) and Māṟ. Śrīvallabha (1132 to 1163) are conspicuous dating the grants in their regnal years.

The Pāṇḍyan independence was reasserted by Jāṭ. Kulaśēkhara (acc AD 1190). His successor Māṟ. Sundara Pāṇḍya - I waged a relentless war against the Cōḷa, Kulōttunga III (AD 1178 - 1216) and his successors. The struggle could not be clinching for the Pāṇḍyas due to the intervention by the Hoysaḷās. The latter were determined to hold the balance between the two, the Cōḷās and the Pāṇḍyas and intervened on the side of either whoever was weak at the time and strengthened their own relationship with them both, by matrimonial alliances. Clear evidence is found from within the Pāṇḍyan

country attesting the allocation of revenues as tribute to the Hoysāḷas from some townships of Rāmanāthapuram district. Out of the proceeds special services for the merit of the Hoysāḷa rulers were institued in the temple as at Madurai and Aḻagarkōil. Indeed Mār. Sundara Pāṇḍya II (acc 1238), even founded a township at the request of Hoysāḷa, Vīra Sōmēśvara (1233 - 67) at the eastern extremity of Tāmbaraparaṇi and named it after him as Vīra Sōmidēva Caturvēdimaṅgalam.[18]

Jaṭ. Sundara Pāṇḍya I (acc 1251) and his co-rulers Vira Pāṇḍya and Vikrama were the greatest conquerors of the age and the Pāṇḍyan kingdom extended the farthest upto Kāñchi and even Tirupati in their time. Mār. Kulaśēkhara (AD 1263 - 1371) was, perhaps one of the longest ruling kings of the dynasty. Marco Polo visted the Mabar Coast during this period and has given an account of the Kingdom under Kales Devar, Kulaśēkharas successors fought fratricidal wars and secured alternately the intervention of the Ceylonese ruler and even the Muslims under Malik Kafur the north. The succession line and the chronology in the 14th century is still inconclusively worked out and leave a number of points to be settled.

But the Tirunelvēli tract in the prevailing confusion in the 15th century had annexed by the Tiruvaḍi Chieftains of Jayatuṅga Naḍū, a branch of the Vēṇāḍu rulers with headquarters at Kaḷakkādu. These rulers were frequently on the move, camping at various places like Kallidaikkuṟicci, Mēlacceval, Tirunelvēli and were making grants to the deities in the Tāmbraparaṇi tract and to Āṇḍāḷ Shrine at Śrīvilliputtūr.[19]

They were overthrown by about AD 1533 by Viśvanātha Nāyaka sent by Acyuta Rāya and the suzerainty of Vijayanagara rulers was acknowledged. But it needed another campaign some ten years later (1543) organised by Rāma Rāya under Chinna Thimma and Viṭṭala, his cousin, to quell the power of the Tiruvaḍi Chieftains and to check the menace of the Portuguese power that was growing. The surviving scions of the Pāṇḍyan ruled petty principalities around Kayattāṟu, Tenkāśi and Karivalam-vandanallūr. These princess, the Later Pandyas were several and were having only control over local revenues and the temples and their possessions in the immediate vicinity of their capitals. They were reigning from about (AD 1402 to about AD 1753).[20] Their power however progressively declined corresponding to the growth of the Nāyaks of Madurai (1529-1736) during the period. Their grants were stereotyped and were mere assignment or ressignments of temple services, the accountancy and priesthood and from time with the rights for a small parcel of land (1 or 2 *mā*) a house and garden attached that went with the service tenure.

The Vijayanagar Rāyas and the Nāyaks under them had extended their authority over the whole of Tirunelvēli and Kanyakumari tracts. They appointed the *Sthānikas* or Superintendents of the temples who were directly administering them. This should have reduced the area of functioning for the collective body of townships who were intent in their activity during the medieval period, whether under the Pāṇḍyas or the Cōḷās. The Nāyaks of Madurai had effective control over the tract and many land grants and extensions of temple were made by them. They also seem to have held the community action of the artisans under chains.

The largest volume of evidence for this study pertains to the Cōḷa and the Pāṇḍya period.

Periodisation :

For purposes of analysing the evidence, a periodisation can be attempted, though on conventional lines as below :

AD 560 - 920	:	The Pāṇḍyas of the I Empire.
AD 950 - 1120	:	The Cōḷa supremacy over the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom
AD 1120 - 1395	:	The Pāṇḍyas of the II Empire who reassert their supremacy (with the Muslim interlude in between (1335 - 1370).
AD 1400 - 1535	:	The rule of the Tiruvaḍi Chieftains
AD 1535 - 1736	:	The Vijayanagar rule and the Nāyaks of Madurai.

The transactions described in the pages that follow are fitted into this time-this frame as far as the date can be ascertained or surmised. But in a socio-economic history what stand out are the trends and so long as the dates are placed within an appropriate time-sequence to which they relate, the precision in date can admit of some allowance. Social and economic trends creep through the ages over a period of time, like clouds in the sky and they are not specific events occuring at any specific point of time. The French historians of the Annales School have ranked next only to the decisive movements of the economy, the weight or the inertia of civilisations, the product of a long process of adaptation between human societies and their natural milieu, a combination of choice and necessity a totality which evolves and changes at an extremely slow pace, thereby sealing the dooms of all attempts to escape from the prisons of longue duree[21]. Fernand Braudel has demonstrated the force of this conceptualisation in his La Mediteranean.

In this perspective, the history of the townships of the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom is set out, with a view to discern the social and economic trends, and the effect they had on the community, and to recapture the functioning of the community in situations which need adjustments and mutations over the centuries.

FOOT NOTES

1. This district has since been bifurcated as Nellai Kattabomman and Cidambaranar district.
2. The mean yield over the years in Tons per acre. Table 30 at p. 510 - 'An Indias Rural' Economy 1880 - 1955 (Baker)
3. The anaicut is a masonry obstruction to divert water into the supply channel up to a particular level down for the lower riparian users. It differs from a dam in that the run of the river is allowed and not impounded. The masonry *anaicut* should have even in the middle ages, taken the place of the periodical or annual *Korambo* works. In a *Korambo* the flow is held up and diverted by an earthern bund, strengthened by shrubs and palm leaves and it needs renewal at frequent intervals or when floods wash them away. The masonry dam which was adopted early in the history of the irrigation of this tract did away with such customary communal obligation of periodical renewal of *Korambo* and reduced cost.
4. This term is derived from a strain of paddy, long-term *Paśān* or *Piśān* and has nothing to do with Pāsanam. (Vide : Tamil Lexicon - Vol. IV p. 297)
5. Mesolithic artefacts from Sawerpuram - A. Aiyappan *Spodia Zeylaina Vol.* 24 - Pt. 2. 1945.
6. A *History of South India* - p. 51.
7. Ādiccanallūr is just on the banks of Tambraparni about 6 miles west of Śrīvaikuntam, the Taluk headquartors.
8. A Reg : *Catalogue of the prehistoric antiquities of Adiccanallūr and Perambur* - (Madras 1915).
9. This account follows that of Prof. K.A.N. Sastri in his *History of South India* (Oup) p.p. 57 to 59.
10. ARE 407 / 1906
11. Corpus of Tamil Brahmi Inscriptions. I. Mahadevan.
12. S.I.I Vol V Nos.307-406
13. A History of South India p.90
14. The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom.
15. For genealogy please see the History of South India - By K.A.N. Sastri p 172.
16. EI XXI 101
17. SII XIV 16A EI IX p 84
18. Please see the author's paper on this Township Journal of ESI - Vol. XX - pp. 13 to 22. Collected Papers Papers (1124)
19. TAS Vol. IX - Nos. 1, 2, 19, 22, 23, 24.Volume I - p. 60.
20. TAS Volume I - p. 60
21. *French Studies in History* - Vol. I-p. 8 (Maurice Aymond, Harbans Mukhia) Orient Longmans - 1988).

SECTION - 1

THE TOWNSHIPS OF THE EARLY PĀṆḌYA PERIOD

The earliest stratum of epigraphic evidence is to be found in the Tamil Brahmi labels scurding the donors of the Jaina image noticed at different places in the tract under study[1]. A later stratum are inscriptions of the early Pāṇḍyas. The number of places and the number of Jain inscriptions therein stretching over a period of ten centuries (Ist Century BC to 9th Century AD) is listed in Appendix I. The largest number of places is found in Madurai District. The single largest collection is from Ayyampāḷayam (14) in Paḷani Taluk. Uttama-Pāḷayam has the second largest density, followed by Mēṭṭuppaṭṭi. Both the number of places and number of inscriptions taken together reveal Madurai, Mēlūr, and Tirumaṇgalam taluks adjoining it have had the largest concentration of Jaina shrines.

Five places in Rāmanāthapuram district have yielded Jaina inscriptions of which two are later (Hanumantakuḍi and Iḷayāṅguḍi). Aruppukkōṭṭai has two places of which Paḷḷimaḍam has extent four inscriptions. But there should have been more as Kuṟaṇḍi (identified near Paḷḷimadam) was a famous centre of Jaina ascetics and preceptors of whom Guṇasēna was one of the well known[2]. He had the Jaina shrines of Kuṟaṇḍi, Tirukkaṭṭāmpaḷḷi, Kīḻakkuḍi, Pēccippaḷḷam under him and his associates figure in the inscriptions from these places. A nunnery appears to have existed at Paḷḷimaḍam[3]. The only inscription from Eṟukkaṅguḍi is however important as noticed below.

Tirunelvēli district yields a far larger quantum of evidence. Seven places of occurrence of Jains shrines are noticed, of which three belong to the medieval period. Among the remining four, Kaḻugumalai (Neṟkunṟam) (Kōvilpaṭṭi Taluk) has the largest known number (101). Ērvāḍi (Nāṅgunēri Taluk) Kuṟṟālam (Tenkāsi) and Maṟukāttalai (Tirunelvēli Taluk) have respectively 3, 1, 1, inscriptions.

These inscriptions have dated on palaeographical grounds, where they do not themselves give any regnal year or any internal clue for their date. But the total corpus of the Jaina inscriptions considered can be ascribed from the 2nd or Ist century BC to about AD 9th or 10th century.

The inscriptions reveal the Jaina Centres in the tract had transtract contacts and connections with Koṭṭāṟu, Chitarāl (Kanyākumari District) Tirunaṟuṅgoṇḍai in South Arcot District. Kaḻugumalai, Kuṟaṇḍi, and Ānaimalai and adjoining places had Jain concentrations.

The contents of the inscriptions reveal that the Jaina monasteries had both men and lady preceptors (Kurattiyar) and disciples[4]. The members of a family often cut beds for Jains recluses or set up Jaina images for merit of the next of kin, a mother, a wife[5], a brother or some one related. There were ofcourse, several lay devotees among the donors.[6]

Others were of Jaina persuasion on pilgrimage from far and near. Travel in early Pāṇḍyan times, though lacking in convenience was still a vogue fostered by faith, political conflicts or mercantile needs. Mobility of people of ascetics and the laity. of generals and soldiers or those in trade or after scholastic training can be noticed even in these early times.

The inscriptions noticed bring out three distinct periods. First, the Tamiḻ Brahmi inscriptions assigned to 2nd or 1st century BC and early years of the Christian era. Second, inscriptions on copper plates and on stone of the 8th and 9th centries of the early Pāṇḍyas mostly in *Vaṭṭeḻuttu* script but in Tamil language. Third, inscriptions of 8th, 10th century which will be noticed in their context.

Among the Brahmi inscriptions of the earliest period, the Aḻagarmalai inscriptions refer to donors, one of them was a goldsmith[7] others were a salt merchant, a sugar merchant, iron monger, a monk[8] and a cloth merchant[9]. The Māṅguḷam Tamiḻ Brāhmi epigraphs dated in the reign of the early Pāṇḍyan ruler, Neḍuñjaḍaiyan referr to an officer (*Pāṇan*) under him[10] and his brother-in-law and nephew among the donors[11]. A merchant prince (*Kāviti*) belonging to the *Nigama* (Merchant guild) of Veḷḷaṟai (identified as Tiruveḷḷaṟai near Tiruchirāppaḷḷi) and the members of the guild were also among the donors[12].

We get a far larger quantum of evidence of the second period. By the end of the 9th century gleanings of the organised life and institutional arrangements become evident. The inscriptions spread over the whole tract from Ayyampāḷayam[13] (Aivarmalai in Paḻani Taluk) to Kaḻugumalai (Tirunelvēli district) indicate *inter se* contacts and contacts with places of Jaina concentrations in areas outside. Several donors of image in Kaḻugumalai and Ayyampāḷayam were from Nālkūr in Veṇbunāḍu[14] Others were from Kōṭṭāṟu (Near Nāgercōil)[15] Chitarāl (Tiruccāraṇam)[16] (in Kanyākumari District) and from Kuraṇḍi (Aruppukkōṭṭai Taluk)[17]. Donors from other places included one from Kaḷakkuḍi which was a conspicuous centre of trade and several administrative officers hailed from that place[18] and from Ālattūr village in Kīḻkaḷakkūṟṟam[19] (Tirunelvēli Taluk).

But the largest number of donors hailed from Kaḻugumalai itself[20]. A father and son and two brothers[21] figure among them. A son donated an image for the merit of his mother. A stone mason of the *Nāḍu, Nāṭṭuttaccan* a chief of the Pūṅguḍi *nāḍu*

and the chief of the Nērcuranāḍu were among other donors. Perhaps the chiefs had set up images for the benefit of the Nāḍu as a whole from the proceeds of dues of Nāḍu or individually from their personal funds.

An assiduous monk Ajjanandi has caused several images at different places - Ayyampāḷayam[22], at Aḷagarmalai[23] at Ānaimalai[24], at Karuṅgālakkuḍi[25], at Uttamapāḷayam[26] and Ervāḍi[27], which seems to be the earliest. His name is mentioned in an inscription in Koṅgarpuḷiyaṅguḷam[28] and his mother Guṇamatiyār in an epigraph of Pēccippaḷḷam (Madurai Taluk)[29]. Another image set up by Ajjanandi was noticed at Ariṭṭappaṭṭi (Mēlur Taluk)[30].

If all these inscriptions refer to one and the same monk, they should have been very active in and around Madurai and Paḷani besides Ērvadi in Nāṅgunēri Taluk. Perhaps there might have been more than one monk of the same name.

A member of the Vīra Sangha (that is the group of Jaina monks) from Tirunaṟuṅgoṇḍai (South Arcot District) set up an image at Ayyampāḷayam[31]. He must have been a leader among them, as Mallisēnaperiyān, his name conveys. The Jaina monks were hailed as Vīrar (conqueror) on account if the four-fold prowess they acquired by their austere penance[32]. In AD 870, (Ś 792) 8th regnal year of Pāṇḍya Varaguṇa II) Sāntivīrakkuravaḍigaḷ a disciple of Guṇavīrakkuravaḍigaḷ renovated the Pārśvanātha shrine at Ayyampāḷayam and donoted 505 kāṇam of gold for offerings and feeding an ascetic[33].

Sheep offerings for burning lamps were also made for the Jaina shrines[34]. In the 42nd year of Māṟañjaḍaiyan (AD 798) a Brahmin of Tiruccuriyal, Māṇi Saṅkaranārāyaṇan, a Nagarattār caused to instal a shrine of the Dēvar. For burning lamps in 3 *śandis* he deposited with the Pērūrār (the village elders) or the township organisation) 2 Kaḷañju of gold and 24 sheep (against the yield of which) 20 nāḷi of ghee per year were to be delivered. They were left in the protection of Tirumalai Vīrar and Parāntaka Vīrar[35]. In AD 806 one such gift consisted of 50 sheep for supplying 5 nāḷi of ghee every month[36]. Cash donations of 11 *kāśu* by a priest himself Anantavīranaḍigaḷ was entrusted to another priest for burning a lamp with the interest proceeds at Uttamapaḷayam[37].

The wife of a shephered from Parūr in Miḷaikkuṟṟam had caused an image to be cut at Pēccippaḷḷam[38]. The number of sheep endowed had varied from case to case depending presumably on the number of lamps or hours of burning. The donors were, mostly, the common people and of varied avocations.

Land endowments were also noticed. In a dry area like Kalugumalai wells to irrigate the lands were indispensable. These were endowed by two donors one from Kadanadaikkudi in Tumbūrkkūrram[39] and another from Perunāvalūr[40] in Milalaikkūrram. The donors have deployed their own funds and sunk one well each. The purpose was to feed from out of the produce the 10 *Vyrāgiyār* (ascetics) including one expounding Siddānta and another grant was for feeding 5 *Vyrāgiyārs* (ascetics) including one expounding Siddānta.

These grants are dated in the 3rd year of Mārañjadaiyan (Varaguṇa II Ad 865). These endowments were caused to be made by the chief of the monks, Guṇasāgara bhaṭārar. The *Tiṇaikkaḷattār* occurring in this inscription in a damaged portion is sough to be interpreted below.

To crown all, several benefactions of a popular chieftain, Eṭṭi Śāttan, who was conferred the title of Iruppaikkudi Kiḻavan are listed in a record at Erukkaṅgudi (Sāttūr Taluk). It is dated in the 18th year of Sadaiyan Māṟan (Śrīmāṟan Śrīvallabha - AD 833). At Iruppaikkudi itself he erected a big raised an embankment to the tank Vallarkuḷam cut channels, and provide a trough for the water to pass[41]. This chief is perhaps the same as the one who figures in the Tiruccendūr inscription of Varaguṇa Mahāraja[42] (Varaguṅa II).

Lamp services were instituted in Kaḷugumalai for the merit of the inner palace servants (*uḷvīṭṭu kōil sēvagar*) who died while laying siege in a war and destroyed Ariviyūrkkōṭṭai[43] The early 9th century was an active period for the Pāṇḍyas whose armies moved south and north. A herostone at Ēṟal seems to refer to one such expeditions and the death of a hero[44]. A mother (presumbly, Śāttanammai) endowed 12 cows for the merit of her daughter, a dancing girl, Śāttandēyam in the temple of Naraśiṅgaperumāḷ (Brahmapuridēvar)[45] at Tirunelvēli, (elsewhere called Vikramapāṇḍyaviṇṇagarāḷvār[46]. A Muttaraiyar chieftains wife (*Arasiyār*) of Ālaṅgudi in Iruñjōnāḍu[47] endowed at Śrīvilliputtūr a lamp and 25 sheep. A gift of 10 *kāśu* (*dināra* in Sanskrit) was endowed by a Brahmin lady for a lamp for at Tirupattūr[48] A Ātulaguṇattān of Nālkūr (Vēmbunādu) endowed a lamp for the merit of his mother and the next year a gold for the merit of his father in the temple at Peruṅguḷam.[49] These are cited here to show by the time of Varaguṇa I, in addition to Jaina centres, the temples for Viṣṇu and his *avatārs* and of Śiva were already coming into vogue and grants for the upkeep and pūjā service were made. Indeed, his reign gave a great impetus to Vaiṣṇava centre growing in popularity and prosperity.

The endowments were varied in form in sheep, in cash, in land, and in capital works including wells sunk. The arrangments for their proper upkeep and maintenance

throw light on the community organisations, besides other institutional arrangements made. As noticed above the obligation to burn a lamp in the *Palli* at Uttamapālayam endowed by a priest, Anantavīradigāl with 11 kāśu was under taken by another priest or ascetic in charge of the shrine (*Adigal*)[50]. In Kalugumalai the *Ūrār* undertook such an obligation[51]. In Ērvādī the Jaina image out was to be protected by the Sabhayār of Nāttarruppōkku (that is the Brahmadēya assemblies in the division on the command of the river Nattār (Nambiyār)[52].

An interesting record is from Tirukkurungudi in 4th year, Mārañjadaiyan (Varaguna I-AD 769). The Mahāsabhā Vaikunta Valanādu in the Nattārruppōkku sold a land to one Pañcavan Brahmādirāyar (Śēndan Sāttan) of Malaināḍu as *Irayili*. While it has several interesting aspects (which are dealt with below) the point made here is that the Sabhā received Vilaiporul the price for the land) and *Iraiporul* (capitalised amount) the interest on which was to be utilised for paying the land dues, receiving 120 Kalañju of gold endowed for the food offerings to Tirukkurungudi deity (Nambi), the extent sold was *Kālēkāni sey* or 5 *ma* (about 1 acre 73 cents)[53]

In the 43rd year of Mārañjadaiyan a Land gift as *Palliccandam* to *Aruvālattu Bhatāraka* of Tiruviruttalai (Ērvādi) was made by *Irambāttuvēlān sāttan*. The land dues were to be protected by *Pāppāncānrōr* of Kīlcceri in Nāttukkūrumu[54] (that is idential with the Sabhaiyār attending to the affairs of the Nadū). This inscription is important. The *Pāppāncānrōr* should obviously refer to the Brahmadēya Sabhā of Kilcceri which was one of the constituents supervising the revenue affairs of the *Nādu*. (*Nāttukkrumbu*) There were several Brahmadēyas in the *Nādu*, (*Ivvūrōrgal*). Perhaps the lands were irrigated by Arumannadai channel, taking off from Sirraiyūr channel and Vilanperunkāl and a third channel and hence more than one Brahmadēya was involved. They sold the land at a price inclusive of the *Iraivilaipporul* ie. the capitalised amount yielding adequate interest to pay the land dues. They undertook the obligation of paying the land dues and render the services fastended on land, (*Iraikadanum vali Irai vetti*) keeping a vigil. If they failed to do so they undertook to pay a penalty severally (*vērruvagai*) twice the *Kadamai* levy of 5 *palankāśu*.

Fifty sheep for a lamp service by the Irumbāttūr-Vēlān Śāttan, the donor in Ērvādi were entrusted to a commander (*Padaittalaivan*) with a surety for him. The donor was himself a composer and his verse in praise of the Jaina is inscribed. At the end the *nāśa(ya) Rannmār* of the *Nādu* of Nāttārrupōkku were enjoined to protect the endowments. This is dated in the 43rd year of Mārañjadaiyan[55].

The image set up by Ajjanandi at Ānaimalai and the endowment for the establishment (?) (*Parivāra puravuvariyār Pērumum*) were entrusted to the Sabhā of Naraśingamangalam apparently a Brahmadēya adjoining Ānaimalai named after

Narasingaperumāḷ shrine set up there[56]. The last passage which is unclear may perhaps refer to the land tax executives of the Sabhā or an endowment by them.

The image caused to be cut by Ajjanandi at Arittāpaṭṭi (Mēlūr) was on behalf of the Karaṇattār (accountants and executives) of Neṟkōḍu. The Vāṇiyakkuḍi people were to protect it[57].

The protection of the image caused to be set up by Pudumai Eriyam Būti of Veṇbaikkuḍi was enjoined on the gana in charge of *Puravuvari (Puravuvariganattār)*[58]

An Ānaimalai image was left to the protection of the Karaṇattār of Poṟkōḍu[59]. The *Śrītiṇaikkaḷattār* were made to protect an image at Ānaimalai.[60] having regard to this clear statment the rather unclear reference to Tiṇaikkaḷattār in the later portion of the Kaḻugumalai inscription referred to above. (SII V No. 406) might refer to the revenue officials of the king.

The evidence above is significant. Already by the 9th century AD, townships of a varied character had come into being. They were also grouped into *Nāḍus* or politico-geographical divisions; they had as units, the Sabhās to oversee the endowments. Collectively, the *Nāttār* looked after, supervised and ensured the performance of charitable endowments left in their charge. They had explicity taken several and collective responsibility for the proper maintenance of the endowments. Alongside endowments were left to be administered by the kings officials (*Tiṇai Kaḷattār*) *Karaṇattār* (Executives of the Nāḍus or townships). Endowments of sheen were also made and left incharge of garrison chiefs (*Paḍaittalaivar*) or the performing priest of the shrines (*Aḍigaḷ*), besides others.

As the curtain rises an established structure of the *Nāḍu* and already emerged with an institutional framework though somewhat unspecific with its executives, undertaking public functions and charitable endowments. The fact that the Sabhaiyār had undertaken *Iṟaikāval* obligation against capital receipts implies that they were responsible continuing agencies for collection of land dues and enforcing community obligations.

References occur to an enigmatic body 1700 who were entrusted with buring the lamp and the protection of sheep endowments made in Tiruppattūr in Māṟañjaḍaiyan's reign[61]. The townships had shepherd or parttime military personnel who undertook to tend the sheep and measure the ghee. They were attached to the temple and had to do all odd jobs and services (*Veṭṭikkuḍi*).

Grants were also made to compensate for service to be rendered to the shrines set up. A chief potter of Neṛcuram was granted *śey* for supplying earthen vessels for the bath (for carrying water) and for cooking food offerings[62] to the *Araimalai Āḷvār* of Neṛcuram.

The chief smith (*Peruṅkollan*) of Neṛcura Nāḍu who was executing the maintenance and construction of Araimalai Āḷvār was likewise granted *śey*[63].

Another endowment of *Kaḷañju*, the interest proceeds of which were to the benefit of *Vaṇṇār* (washerman) was made in Tiruppattūr[64].

These instances would suggest that there were designated artisans attend to the services of the community and of the shrines and they were granted lands for services rendered or more appropriately for services to be rendered on a teritorial basis; these endowments could have been mere estates upon condition.

The Jain shrines and endowments considered are only a species of evidence. There is a far larger volume of evidence available in the grants of *Brahmadēyas* and *dēvadanams* to temples which were proliferating alongside with the increase in the number of settlements and extension of cultivation and habitations. This activity was gaining momentum during this period.

When these inference are tested with the larger volume of evidence available in copper plate grants and inscriptions of the period, it will be seen the evidence reinforces and sometimes defines the functioning of these arrangements and agencies. These aspects are dealt with below.

It is significant that these endowments for lamp service were mostly made either in sheep, cows, buffaloes or in cash. The cash could be invested straight away or on cattle. The land endowments were far and few between. With the extension of pastoral accent of the economy the direct and more secure yield of ghee required for the services was a surer guarantee for performance. Agriçulture is fought with hazards of the monsoon behaviour and the yield. The grain to the ghee yield may also require to be ensured and they may not be easy if the yields of paddy vary from field to filed or tract to tract or whether irrigated or rainfed. Hence the preferred form of endowment is sheep or cash. The economy can be said to be static, holding the ground for over three centuries. Monetary fluctuations were there, but the transactions were not such as to be affected by them. For the bulk of the transactions were in kind, paddy also serving as a medium of exchange or as the basis for such exchange. Inflation

and price fluctuations would heve been minimal. But it is still difficult to establish the cash to grain or commodities nexus even within a limited area and closely proximate periods as we shall see later.

It is interesting to compare the yield of the sheep / cows / buffaloes endowed and their gold or cash equivalent deposits during the period. The variations are but few. The yield for 50 sheep had varied from 5 nāḷi per month[65] in the reign of Māṟañjaḍaiyan to 7½ *nāḷi* at Paḷḷimadam in the times of *Cōḻan talaikoṇḍa Vīrapāṇḍya*[66] (950 AD) But in this earlier period itself the yield had varied in different locations[67].

Could it be that the lower yield in Tiruppattūr, Paḷḷimaḍam (atleast up to the beginning of Vīrapāṇḍyas reign) and Kaḻugumalai was due to the tract as compared with the wet area of Peruṅguḷam, Ambāsamudram, Perumalañji, Sīvalappēri, Vijayanārāyaṇam where grazing or biomass from wet cultivation could be better had and for a longer period. The equation of the sheep to buffaloes and cows yielding the standard ghee requirement of 7 *nāḷi* per month per lamp can be deduced as below :

Ghee 7½ *nāḷi* = 50 sheep = 25 cows or 6 buffaloes. This ratio of cows[68] to buffaloes[69] is also noticed in Cōḻa times[70]. In AD 904 twenty sheep cost 2 kaḻañju in Kaḻugumalai[71] yielding 20 *nāḷi* per year. 5 *kaḻañju* hence could be the price of 50 sheep, the yield of which could be 7½ *nāḷis* per month. The ghee yield at Kaḻugumalai was phenomenally low.

The interest equivalent of ghee however shows variation. In Ambāsamudram a deposit of 30 *Paḻaṅkāśu* had the interest yield equal to 30 *nāḷi* per month, that is one *nāḷi* per month per *Paḻaṅkāśu* in Māṟañjaḍaiyan's times[72] : In Peruṅgaḷam in the 11th year Śadaiyan Māṟan (AD 916) 13 kāśu could secure only 7 *nāḷi* of ghee per month[73]. This could be attributed to the lack of parity in the exchange rate *Paḻaṅkāśu* and *kāśu* that obtained in closely proximate periods. The data show that the interest yield of *Paḻaṅkāśu* to *Kaḻañju* equation was equal. For the standard yield of 7 *nāḷi* per month it required 7 *paḻaṅkāśu* deposit. But it required 13 *kāśu* in Peruṅguḷam in Saḍaiyan Māṟan's time.

For 50 sheep the yield of 7 *nāḷi* of ghee appears to be low. This is explicable by the fact that of the sheep some may be too lod, and barren and some others may be expectant or alternative too young and as yet not capable of yielding. Of the milch cattle actually yielding, some allowance has to be made for the subsistence of the shepherd and his family. Nevertheless the yield of the cattle can only be said to be

low. The Pirānmalai evidence of Mār Kulaśēkhara time is clinching : the average milkyield of 6 cows is only 1 *nāḷi*, and for 30 cows 5 *nāḷi* of milk (Apn : II)[72]

The yield of the sheep and the cows and the buffaloes had been invariably at the rate of 7 *nāḷi* of ghee, that is at the same equation as given above right through the 9th to the 11th centuries, in Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya times even in the wet tract of Tāmbraparaṇi basin. Ādanūr in Kōvilpaṭṭi, Taluk also yielded the same[73]. The force of longue duree has never been better demonstrated. The breeding technology and the varieties of milch cattle and their breeds and the fodder and feeding practices for cattle could hardly have improved through the three centuries. More of this is noticed later while reviewing the transactions of the later periods.

The above observations should not make one jump to the conclusion that the level of price of commodities expressed in terms of coinage or paddy also was totally unfluctuating. For one thing, as noticed already the exchange rates of different types of coinage had varied. For another, with such changes in coinage the quantum of interest yield of paddy could vary. Nay, more the unit prices of commodites expressed in times of paddy, also have varied in the same reign of Varaguṇa II as between Ambāsamudram and Tiruccendūr. The former at the head reaches of Tāmbraparaṇi and the latter to the south of its estuary in a sandy tract. This is examined below to show how place and time utilities and transport changes and the differential characters and availabilities of commodities had resulted in varied level of prices. The intriguing aspect of the interest rates conversted into paddy from ghee yield given per kāśū has been already mentioned in the case of the Ambāsamudram endowment.

FOOT NOTES

1. This phrase is used to denote the undivided districts of Madurai, Rāmanāthapuram and Tirunelveli. But the district are only convenient reference points for location. These artificial boundaries have no relevance to the life and transactions of the people through history.
2. ARE 330/1908, 331/1908, 332/1908. Also 61/1910 from Meṭṭuppaṭṭi Madurai Taluk. 661/1910 from Pēccippaḷḷam (Madurai Tk)
3. SII XIV 34 & 35 p. 27.
4. SII XIV 117 Ayyampāḷayam.
5. ARE 70 / 1910, Tamiḻ Brāhmi Aḻagarmalai.
6. ARE 55 / 1910 for example 275/1965-66 (Tiruvādavūr) (2nd 1st century BC).
7. ARE 244 / 1963 - 64
8. ARE 71-77 / 1910
9. ARE 78-79 / 1910
10. ARE 465 / 1906
11. ARE 460 / 1906

12. ARE 463/1906
13. ARE SII XIV iii
14. SII V 351 to 356
15. SII V 351 to 356
16. SII V 321 392
17. SII V 318, 325, 332, 345, 359, 374, 381
18. SII V The identification of this place as Ukkirankōṭṭai is now established.
19. SII V 360
20. SII V 327, 328, 342, 343, 344, 348, 349, 361, 376, 379, 382, 397, 382, 393, 401.
21. Ibid 342, 344, 365, 366.
22. SII XIV 108
23. 396/1954-55
24. SII XIV 102
25. 562/1911
26. SII XIV 126
27. SII XIV 129
28. 54 / 1910
29. 64 / 1910
30. Jaina Inscriptions p. 160)
31. SII XIV 113
32. Vice Versa 2738 in *Jīvaka Cintāmaṇi* (p. 1345 UVS edt. 1986.) The 24th *Tīrthaṅkara* was also known as Vīrar - V. 409 p. 210 Ibid.
33. E. IL XXXII 335-338, SI XIV 22.
34. SII V 308 - 328, Kaḻugumalai 395/1907 Kīḻavaḷavu, SII XIV 32, Kōvilāṅguḷam, SII XIV 34 & 35, Paḷḷimaḍam, SII 34-Paḷḷimaḍam.
35. SII XIV 42 the two 'Vīrars' are taken by the editor of the Volume to be military guardians of the temple. The term Vīra has also been taken to refer to Jaina-Tirthankaras and in that sence, the endowment could have been left in charge of the priests, name after the Tīrthankaras.
36. SII XIV 39 Paḷḷimaḍam.
37. SII XIV 128 Uttamapāḷayam.
38. 67/1910
39. SII V 405
40. SII V 406
41. SII XIV 44
42. Ibid p. 33
43. SII XIV 31
44. ARE 371/1960
45. SII XIV 18
46. 83/1927
47. SII XIV 71
48. SII XIV 9
49. SII XIV 59, 62 (Śaḍaiyan Māṟan 2+9; 2+10)

50. SII XIV 128
51. SII V 308
52. SII XIV 130
53. SII XIV 19
54. SII XIV 41
55. Ibid 41.
56. SII XIV 102 (see also *infra*)
57. Jaina inscription p 160. The text is not available and the implication of the term Vāṇiyakkuḍi people could not be inferred.
58. SII XIV 106 The *Ūrār* & the *Gaṇattār* of Kuraṇḍi supervised 50 sheep. XIV 34 & 35
59. SII XIV 101
60. SII XIV 100
61. SII XIV 9 & 16 could they refer to a body of priests ?
62. SII X 361
63. SII V 357
64. SII XIV 5
65. SII XIV 39, 32
66. Ibid 79, 80
67. SII XIV

16	Tiruppattūr	50	sheep	5	nāḻi.
29	Peruṅgulam	50	sheep	7½	nāḻi.
32	Paḷḷimaḍam	100	sheep	10	nāḻi.
36	Ambāsamudram	50	sheep	7½	nāḻi.
40	Daḷapatisamudram	50	sheep	7½	nāḻi.
42	Kaḻugumalai	24	sheep	1⅔	nāḻi.
72	Śivalppēri	50	sheep	7½	nāḻi.
89	Vijayanārāyaṇam	25	sheep	3¾	nāḻi.

(in early 10th Century)

But the yiels of ghee in Paḷḷimaḍam is more at 7½ nāḻi as seen from the inscriptions of the time of Vīra Pāṇḍya (who took the Cōḻan). (79, 80, 82, SII XIV) Tirukkōṣṭiyūr. 15 nāḻis for 18 cows and 50 sheep which is somewhat higher than normal yield (SII XIV-49)

68. SII XIV 18 Tirunelvēli.
69. Ibid 58, Kuṟṟālam.
70. *Rajēndra Viṇṇagar* p. 17. See also SII XIV - 142 Ādanūr.
71. SII XIV 42 - It appears the endowed sheep yield more ghee than the straight interest rate of 1 *nāḻi per Kaḻañju*.

72. Ibid 27. It will be interesting to note that in Kuḍimiyāmalai also 1 *Kaḷañju* of gold gave an interest-equivalent of 1 *nāḻi* ghee per month. (Pudukkōttai Townships pp. 67-78) in the reign of Parakēsarivarman. Perhaps the *Paḷaṅkāśu* of Varaguṇa II was equal to 1 *kaḷañju* of gold, working backward from the interest-yield of *nāḻi* of ghee per month. But 13 *kāśu* could yield only 7½ *nāḻi* that gives the nexus of 1 Paḷaṅkasu = $1\frac{11}{15}$ *kāśu* to get the same interest equivalent of ghee. Paḷaṅkasu perhaps contained a higher gold content to yield the same interest equivalent of ghee as one *Kaḷañju*. But *Kāśu* had more alloy and was devalued, perhaps.

73. SII XIV, 60. There is one puzzle at 1 *nāḻi* of ghee per month per *paḷaṅkāśu* in terms of paddy. the exchange rate would be 30 *nāḻi*. This works out to an interest rate of 4 *kalams* per year, where as the rate of interest for cash deposits has been stated to be 2 *kalams* per *kaḷañju* in the two grants at Ambāsamudram and Tiruccendūr.

APPENDIX I

MADURAI DISTRICT

S. No.	PLACE	TALUK	No. of INSCRIPTIONS
1	AYYAMPĀḶAYAM	PAḶANI TALUK	14
2	DEVATTŪR	PAḶANI TALUK	1
3	MĒṬṬUPPAṬṬI	NILAKKŌṬṬAI	8
4	AḶAGARMALAI	MĒLŪR	6
5	ARITTĀPAṬṬI	MĒLŪR	2
6	KARUṄGĀLAKKUḌI	MĒLŪR	2
7	KIḶAVAḶAVU	MĒLŪR	5
8	TIRUVĀDAVŪR	MĒLŪR	2
9	ĀNAIMALAI	MADURAI	9
10	KĪḶAKKUḌI	MADURAI	7
11	KĪḶAKKOVILKUḌI	(KIḶAKKUDI MADURAI)	
12	MAṄGUḶAM	MADURAI	6
13	MUTTUPPAṬṬI	MADURAI	5
14	PĒCCIPPALLM	MADURAI	6
15	TIRUPPARAṅKUNṞAM	MADURAI	4
16	VARICCIYŪR	MADURAI	3
17	KOṄGARPUḶIYAṄGUḶAM	TIRUMAṄGALAM	4
18	KUPPĀLNATTAM	TIRUMAṄGALAM	1
19	VIKRAMAṄGALAM	TIRUMAṄGALAM	5
20	UTTAMAPĀḶAYAM	UTTAMAPĀḶAYAM	9
			99

S. No.	TALUK	PLACE
1	PAḶANI	8
2	NIḶAKŌṬṬAI	1
3	MĒLŪR	5
4	MADURAI	8
5	TIRUMANGALAM	3
6	UTTAMAPĀḶAYAM	1
		20

RAMNAD DISTRICT

S. No.	PLACE	TALUK	No. of INSCRIPTIONS
1	EṚUKKAṄGUḌI	ŚĀTTŪR	1
2	KŌVILĀṄKUḶAM	ARUPPUKKŌṬṬAI	2 (for 2 and 3)
3	PAḶḶIMAḌAM	ARUPPUKKŌṬṬAI	
4	HANUMANTAKUḌI		1
5	ILAYĀNGUḌI	PARAMAKKUḌI	1
			5

TIRUNEVĒLI DISTRICT

S. No.	PLACE	TALUK	No. of INSCRIPTIONS	
1	ĒRVĀḌI	NĀṄGUNĒRI	1	5 (for 1–5)
2	KUṚṚĀLAM	TENKĀŚI	1	
3	MARUKKĀLTALAI	TIRUNELVĒLI	1	
4	SINGIKUḶAM	NĀṄGUNĒRI	1	
5	KAḶUGUMALAI	KŌVILPAṬṬI	1	
6	PERUNGUḶAM	MEDIEVAL PAṆḌYAN		
7	VĪRAŚIKHĀMAṆI			

ANNEXURE 2

TABLE SHOWING STANDARD YIELD OF GHEE FOR COWS, BUFFALOES, SHEEP & THEIR CASH NEXUS

Inscription reference	*Place*	*Date*	*No. of Sheep / Cows / buffaloes*	*Per day yield of Ghee*	*Per Month yield of Ghee*		*Remarks*
					Uḻakku	*In Nāḻi*	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
SII XIV 18	Tirunelvēli	Māṟañjaḍaiyan 2nd year	12½ cows	āḻākku	30	3¾	
SII XIV 17	Vijayanārāyaṇam	Māṟañjaḍaiyan 2nd year	10 mā (of land)	—	—	—	
SII XIV 5	Tiruppattūr	Māṟañjaḍaiyan 4+1	40 Kaḻañju (for 1 lamp)	uri		15 nāḻi (by sūlanāḻi	Low. The measure used could also have varied in its content.
SII XIV 16	Tiruppattūr	Māṟañjaḍaiyan 4-4985th day	150 sheep	one uri	30 uri	15	Low.
SII XIV 9	Tiruppattūr	6+4	10 kāśu	—	—	—	

* NOTE : 1 Paḻaṅkāśu = 1 nāḻi ghee interest per month for 12 months = 12 nāḻi ghee.
1 nāḻi ghee = 1 nāḻi of paddy (Tiruccendūr inscription of Varaguṇa)
12 nāḻi = 288 nāḻi. or 3 Kalams of paddy.
This varies from the normal interest rate of 2 kalams of paddy per Paḻaṅkāśu.
The ghee from sheep's milk was used for lamps.
The cow's ghee was costlier at 1 nāḻi ghee = 30 nāḻi paddy (Ambāsamudram inscription of Varaguṇa)

Inscription reference	*Place*	*Date*	*No. of Sheep / Cows / buffaloes*	*Per day yield of Ghee*	*Per Month yield of Ghee*		*Remarks*
					Uḷakku	*In Nāḷi*	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
SII XIV 27	Ambāsamudram	—	30 paḷankāśu	nāḷi per month	—	30	
SII XIV 29	Peruṅguḷam	Māṛañjaḍaiyan	50 sheep	1 uḷakku	30	7½	
SII XIV 32	Paḷḷimadam	Māṛañjaḍaiyan 26th	100 sheep	—	10 nāḷi	10	
SII XIV 36	Ambāsamudram	Māṛañjaḍaiyan 35th	50 sheep	1 uḷakku	30	7½	
SII XIV 42	Kaḷugumalai	Māṛañjaḍaiyan 35th	Kaḷañju 2=20 sheep	20 nāḷi per year	—	$1\frac{2}{3}$	Price of 10 sheep 1 Kaḷañju. Low.
SII XIV 38	Ambāsamudram	Māṛañjaḍaiyan 39	150 sheep	3 uḷakku	90	22½	7½ nāḷi per 50 sheeps
SII XIV 39	Paḷḷimadam	Māṛañjaḍaiyan 6+35	50 sheep	uḷakku	30	7½	
SII XIV 40	Daḷapati Samudram	Māṛañjaḍaiyan 6+35	50 sheep	uḷakku	30	7½	
SII XIV 54	Sinnamanūr	Sadaiyan Māṛan 2+8th year	10 Kaḷañju	uḷakku	—	—	uri ghee per day (?)
SII XIV 57	Kuttālam	Sadaiyan Māṛan 2+9th year	3 buffaloes	āḷākku ½ lamp	—	3½	

Inscription reference	Place	Date	No. of Sheep / Cows / buffaloes	Per day yield of Ghee	Per Month yield of Ghee		Remarks
					Uḻakku	In Nāḻi	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
SII XIV 58	Kuttālam	Saḍaiyan Māṟan 2+9	6 buffaloes	āḻākku (uḻakku)	30	7½	
SII XIV 59	Peruṅguḷam	Saḍaiyan Māṟan 2+9	50 sheep	āḻākku (uḻakku)	30	7½	
SII XIV 60	Peruṅguḷam	Saḍaiyan Māṟan 2+9	10 Kāśu*	uḻakku	30	7½	
SII XIV 72	Śīvalappēri	Saḍaiyan Māṟan 2+10	50 sheep	uḻakku	30	7½	
SII XIV 79	Paḷḷimaḍam	(Cōḻan Talai Kōṇḍa) 3+4 Vīra Pāṇḍya = 7th year	75 sheep	uḻakku āḻākku	45	11¼	
SII XIV 08	Paḷḷimaḍam	4th + 4 = 8th year	25 sheep	āḻākku	30 āḻākku 15 āḻākku	3¾ —	
SII XIV 85	Kīḻmattūr	5 + 4 = 9	12½ sheep	2½, ½ aḻākku	15 āḻākku	1½ + ¼	

(A) The following syllogism may be contructed : 13 Kāśu = uḻakku ghee = 50 sheep
1 Kāśu = $31^{11}/_{13}$ sheep
For 10 sheep = 2½ Kāśu = 1 Kaḻañju

Inscription reference	Place	Date	No. of Sheep / Cows / buffaloes	Per day yield of Ghee	Per Month yield of Ghee		Remarks
					Uḷakku	In Nāl̤i	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
SII XIV 88	Pal̤l̤imaḍam	4 + 7 = 11	20 sheep	—	—	3	
SII XIV 89	Vijayanārāyaṇam	12th	25 sheep	āl̤ākku	15	3¾	
SII XIV 90	Pal̤l̤imadam	13th	25 sheep	āl̤ākku	15	3¾	
SII XIV 93	Peruṅguḷam	15th	5 buffaloes	ul̤akku	30	7½	
SII XIV 96	Vijayanārāyaṇam	year lost	25 sheep	āl̤ākku	15	3¾	
KI (1968) No. 48	Kanyakumari	Cōl̤a Rājarāja I 15	25 sheep	āl̤ākku	15	3¾	
SII XIV 131	Peruṅguḷam	Jāṭ. Sundara Cōl̤a-Pāṇḍya 3	25 sheep	al̤ākku	15	3¾	
SII XIV 141	Tiruvālīśvaram	Jāṭ. Sundara Cōl̤a-Pāṇḍya 3	25 cows	ul̤akku	30	7½	
SII XIV 141	Tiruvālīśvaram	Jāṭ. Sundara Cōl̤a-Pāṇḍya 3	35 buffaloes(?)	ul̤akku	30	7½	
SII XIV 150	Mannārkōil	Jāṭ. Sundara Cōl̤a-Pāṇḍya 14th year	16 cows (½ lamp)	al̤ākku	15	3¾	Low yield

Inscription reference	Place	Date	No. of Sheep / Cows / buffaloes	Per day yield of Ghee	Per Month yield of Ghee		Remarks
					Ul̤akku	In Nāḷi	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
SII XIV 155	Ambāsamudram	16th	20 sheep Pal̤ankāśu 6(?)	āl̤ākku	15	3¾	
SII XIV 158	Sērmādēvi	17	50 Semmariādu (sheep of red colour)	ul̤akkāl̤ākku	45	11¼	
SII XIV 165	Ambāsamudram	20	3 buffaloes	āl̤ākku	15	(½, ¾ lamp)	
SII XIV 166	Śērmādevi	20	50 sheep	ul̤akku	30	7½	
SII XIV 170	Tiruvāliśvaram	20	35 cows	ul̤akku	30	7½	
SII XIV 158	Ānaimalai	21	25 sheep	al̤ākku	15	3¾	
SII XIV 177	Mannārkōil	Jāṭ. Sundara Cōl̤a-Pāṇḍya Yr : NA	25 cows 3 buffaloes	ul̤akku al̤ākku	30 15	7½ 3¾	
SII XIV 183	Ādanūr	Mār̤. Vikrama Cōl̤a Pāṇḍya 20	25 sheep	al̤ākku	15	3¾	
SII XIV 185	Sērmādēvi	Mār̤. Vikrama Cōl̤a Pāṇḍya 22	½ lamp : 25 sheep	al̤ākku	15	3¾	
SII XIV 186	Āttūr	Mār̤. Vikrama Cōl̤a Pāṇḍya 22	78 Kalam paddy	ul̤akku	30	7½	

Inscription reference	Place	Date	No. of Sheep / Cows / buffaloes	Per day yield of Ghee	Per Month yield of Ghee		Remarks
					Uḷakku	*In Nāḻi*	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
SII XIV 209	Sērmādēvi	Srivallabha 5	50 sheep	uḻakku	30	7½	
SII XIV 210	Sērmādēvi	Srivallabha 5	50 sheep	uḻakku	30	7½	

A clinching evidence of the low yield is afforded by the following evidence from Pirānmalai. In the 38th year of Māṟ. Kulaśēkhara (AD 1306), of the originally endowed fifty cows, while taking actually stock, only 30 had remained. They yield for 30 cows per day was calculated as 5 nāḻi of milk per day, at 1 nāḻi of milk per 6 cows. (SII VIII - 427)

NOTE : 2 In Kaḻugumalai in the 23rd year of Jat. Sundara Cōḻa Pāṇḍya (AD 1040) 31 sheep were endowed to yield 5 nāḻi of ghee per month, per day the yield for 31 sheep is 1¹/₃ āḻākku ghee. Another inotex of the poor yield (SII VI 307)

CHAPTER II

SECTION 2

As already stated, the evidence gathered confirm a fully developed social structure even in the first few centuries of the Christian era. The varieties of townships and the larger territorial divisions, the *Nāḍus*, and the *Vaḷanāḍus* were already formed and found adopted. They should have been the crystallisation of centuries of continuing in the 8th and 9th centuries.

We have explicit evidence of how these settlements came into being from the several copper plates of the period. One of the earliest was the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant[1]. This was a regrant. The initial grant was made to one Naṟkoṟṟan of Koṟkai by Palyāgasālai mudu Kuḍumi Peruvaḷudi alias Paramēśwaran and the grantee had personally preferred a grievance to the king himself (Neḍuñjaḍaiyan) in his capital at Madurai in his 3rd regnal year (AD 759) alleging that the grant-village had been resumed by the Kaḷabhras. The king asked for proof of the original grant which was instantly produced and on seeing it, it was regranted to the complaint Koṟkai Kiḻan[2] Kāmakkāṇi (Śuvaraṇ) Naraśiṅgan after demarcating the boundaries of the grant village, it had on its east, Nagarūr and on its west Koṟṟanputtūr and to its north and south were two water spreads. It was in Pāganūr Kūṟṟam. This village should be located on the Vaigai ribbon near Śoḻavandān.

The king designated a general who had won laurels against the Vallabha (Cāḷukyas) Mūvēnda Maṅgalappēraraiyar alias Vaidya Śikhāmaṇi Māṟankāri of Karavandapuram (Kaḷakkuḍi-Ukkirankōṭṭai). The grantee, Koṟkai Kiḻān Kāmakkāṇi Suvaranśiṅgan kept to himself 1/3 of the village and granted 2/3 of the village to 50 Brahmins. Among these Mūrtieyinan held with the approval of the assembly (the Sabhā) 4½ *padāgarās*, he gave four parts to his younger brothers and six parts to the children of his paternal uncle, his coparceners with the approval of the Sabhā.

The three partners that is the grantee, the 50 Brahmins and Mūrti Eyinan[3] gave with their collective consent 4 Padāgarās of land to the composer of the eulogy (*Prasasti*) Ēnadi alias Śāttan Śāttan. The Brahmin occupants of the village alloted a house site, 2 *mā* of wet land and one (*mā*?) of dry land to the engraver of the document, Suttakēsari Perumbānaikkāran.

This evidence bring out that the original grant was made for the purpose of or at the time of a *yāga* (sacrifice). It might be a gift or an offering at the time. The restored grant had been held by as many as fiftytwo persons in addition to ten

deriving their title to smaller shares from the secondary grantee Mūrti Eyinan. The Brahmin occupants together gave a house site, a parcel of wetland and a parcel of dryland to the engraver.

The grantee had both the Karāṇmai and Mīyātci rights given by the king. Hence they were not only occupants but had also cultivating rights. The document is not explicit but such grants are usually relieved of the obligation of land taxes due to the king or charged concessional rates.

This is clear indication of how a township comes into being. Even if the grantee be a single individual he acted for a group of recipients who had all shares in the grant-village. The shares need not denote that they were divided by metes and bounds but the rights of the individual grantee to the shares of the produce from the assigned extent of land was vouched for. The eldest members of the family had shared the lands or the produce with the copartners in the direct and collateral time. Also the fifty Brahmins inducted could have been of various *gotras* ; otherwise social needs and obligations could not be fulfilled.

The inference is also plausible that a village granted had consisted of house sites the wet lands depending on an irrigation source and the dry lands for grazing or for cultivation. Every one of the share holders of the occupancy had parcels of the three types of land.

The occupants were learned Brahmins. Even the composer of the *Praśasti* was a *Sarvakṛutuyāji* (a Brahmin competent to do all sacrifices). The occasion for the original grant was also a sacrifice performed either by the Brāhmana or the king or for his merit. The learned Brāhmins (Kēḷvi andaṇar[4]) were those who did not deviate from the path set in the Vedic Scriptures (*Śrutimārgam piḷaiyāda*). The community of occupants should have been homogeneous but they had doubtless men of other castes till the soil and do various other services. The Hindu society in the traditional community way of life and organisation had become well established. The Pāṇḍyan songs fostered it.

The formation of the *Kūṛṟam* and the *Nāḍu* (territorialision) had already been established.

The inferences drawn above are confirmed by the Srivaramaṅgalam plates also ascribed to Pāṇḍya Neḍuñjaḍaiyan. It was granted in his 17th year (AD 773). The grantee was one Sujjāta Bhaṭṭar, well versed in the Śāstras who was the son of a Brahmin, Sihumisra, of Bhārgava gotra, Āśvalādēvara Sutra (a Rig Vēdin) who was very much appreciated by Vidyādēvatā, belonging to Sabdāli village in Magadha. The grant village

was Vēlaṅguḍi in Tenkaḷavaḷi nāḍu (in Sivagaṅga Taluk). It was granted as Brahmadēya with both occupancy and cultivating rights (*Kārāṇmaimīyatci*) It was Sarva Parihāra, rid of all the kings dues.

The boundaries show that to its east were Nilaikāṇimaṅgalam and Iḷandiyāṅkuḍi. To its south were Perumāṟṟūr and Kaḷḷikuḍi. To its west were Kadambaṅguḍi and Kuraṅguḍi and to its north was Kārāḷavayal. The order was executed by the general in charge of the elephant force, Saṅgan Śrīdharan of Koḷuvūr in Koḷuvūr Kūṟṟam (Tiruppattūr in Rāmanāthapuram District). The *Āgñapti* was the *Mahāsāmanta* well versed in instrumental and vocal music a scion of the Vaidyakula in Kaḷandai (Kaḷakkuḍi) Vīramangalapērarasan Dhīratara Mūrti Eyinan[5].

The fact that both *Kārāṇmai* and *Mīyātci* were granted would suggest that there were still lands available in south Śivaganga areas abutting the Vaigai river for occupation. There appears to be clear distinction between civil and military functions of officials. Village formation with boundaries clearly demarcated and the *Kūṟṟam* formation had been already coming into vogue.

The smaller Śinnamanūr plates also ascribed to Pāṇḍya Neduñjeḻiyan granted a village as *Sarvaparihāra*. But it is stipulated that 85 kalams were granted as *Puraṅkāval*. The import of this stipulation is not clear. Perhaps even if the grant was exempt of all taxes a very for watch and ward service for the *Puravu* (command) in kind was payable from the harvest yield[6]. The *Āṇatti (āgñapti)* executor was Talaiyan Śiṅgan of Kuṇḍūr in Kuṇḍūrkūṟṟam in Aṇḍanāḍu which could be located in the central part of Paḻani Taluk.

The Daḷavāipuram plates of Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa (AD 905) register a grant made by the king while he was camping at Kaḷakkuḍi (Ukkirankōṭṭai). This was also a regrant[7]. It had a history similar to the grant registered in Veḷvikkuḍi grant.

Tirumaṅgalam a Brahmadēya in Āśinadu which was earlier occupied by cultivating tenants but had to be reclaimed was granted with both the *Kārāṇmai* and *Mīyātci* rights to 12 Brahmins. Like wise Somāsikkuṟicci was granted to Kāṭakasōmayāji as Ekabhōga. The grant deeds were lost. A Chieftain Kaḍattirukkai kiḻavan demarcated an area of cultvable land for himself the remaining part was granted as occupancy lands to Śūdra agriculturists and named Maduradaranallūr.

A Brahmin of Tirumaṅgalam an *agrahāra* of Āśinadu and an official in charge of Śomāsikuṟicci Nārāyaṇan Kēśavan requested the king to resume the lands in Maduradaranallūr and Somāsikuricci and regrant them along with the other lands as

the lands of the two villages were not divided by metes and bounds within specified boundaries, but were interespersed. The supplicant belonged to *Vāna Gotra, Baudhāyana* kalpa, the son of Māyanārāyaṇa bhaṭṭar. He was well versed in *ṣatriya dharma*, and was an official under the Pāṇḍyan ruler.

The *Āgñapti* was Iḷaiyanakkan alias Aññūṟuvan of Pullūr in Vaikuṇṭa Vaḷanāḍu could be located near Tirukkuṟuṅguḍi in the Nambiyār belt. The *Madhyastā* of the village (*naḍuvunilai nāyakar*) was Sēndan Kiḷavan of Perunduvelli in Veṇbunāḍu. This nāḍu was located in Aruppukkōṭṭai Taluk. The Accountants were Śāttan Bhattārakan, a Tamil poet of Muśukuṟicci in Aḷaṟṟunāḍu (Mudukuḷattūr Taluk) and another from Peruṅgākkūr (near Kaḷattirukkai[8]).

The boundaries of the two clubbed village granted by the deed were shown by the *Nāṭṭār* of Āśināḍu and the *Nāṭṭār* of Neṟcuranāḍu. The grant village could be located in between Kayattār and Kaḷugumalai in Kōilpatti Taluk. The boundary stones were planted and the area so demarcated was granted to the Sabhaiyar of Tirumaṅgalam and the Brahmins of Sōmāśikuṟicci.

Thereafter the Brahmin Ācarya of *Cāndilya gōtra, Kātyāyana śūtra* of Śrīvallabha maṅgalam Śrīmādavan Caraṇaśēkharan son of the daughter of Tiruvaḍi Śōmayāji who was descendant of Ganasvāmi Bhaṭṭa as the principal grantee on behalf of the Mahāsabhā granted to the *Praśasti* writers a plot of wet land with 2 wells on the same terms on which the grant was made to the Mahāsabhaiyār (ie., the Brahmin occupants forming the assembly). Two plots of land with 3 wells were granted to those who drafted the grant deed and the engraver of the copper plates (Iṟaiyili) free from taxes together with house sites, garden land and half of the miscellaneous revenue (?) and the Mahāsabhā gave an endorsement to that effect.

This document is important. The location of the grant village was in a dry belt in between Kayattāṟu and Kaḷugumalai. Hence the importance of wells to harness sub-soil water for undertaking wet cultivation. More importantly the grant dispels the idea that early Brahmin settlements were only located in the riverine belts, though the density of such settlements was distinctly more therein.

The structure of the *Nāḍu* and of the *Brahmadēya* is well brought out. Already a general body of the Brahmin occupants, the accountant and the Madhyasta the registrar of the *Sabhā* were in position. Clubbing villages of the earlier grants,

particularly when they were not in a continuous geographical area or were interspersed, the boundaries of the villages cutting across each other was resorted to to streamline the village holdings and so read. The Brahmin grantees in turn, were free to make over parcels of lands from within to other beneficiaries on the same terms or such other terms explicitly stated but this could be done only with the approval and authentication of the Mahāsabhā. This collective responsibility of the village expressed through this mode of functioning had become established already in the 9th and early 10th century or even earlier.

The changing fortunes of the grant village would indicate the rather strenuous effort involved in cultivating the lands and their lapse from their favourable tenure to the state of agriculturist holdings of cultivators. But the resumption of these rights and vesting the *Kārāṅmai* and *Mīyātchi* with the Brahmin grantees would have implied the right for the latter to very the land-dues and to claim a stipulated share than those in vogue earlier in lieu of *Mīyātchi* rights. The social tension that could have been caused was more than softened by the kings wrat, and his officers designated to implement the grant and the participation of the inhabitants (the *Nāṭṭār*) in demarcating the boundaries. It also vouched for the public knowledge of the grant and the community obligation to enforce and protect it.

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The grant of Rājasimhā in the 16th year (AD 921-2) (Sinnamanūr larger plates) was made when he was camping at Cuḷal in the command area of Rājaśiṅga Peruṅkuḷam. The grant village was Naṟceikaiputtūr renamed as Mantragauravamaṅgalam in Aḷa nāḍu (ie., in Periyakuḷam - Uttamapaḷayam Taluk) The eastern boundary of the grant village cited as Śuruḷiyār confirms it. The Aḷanāṭṭār showed the boundaries. The grantee hailed from Vadakaḷavaḷi nāḍu as his ancestors of Komara-Seṅguḍi, Kausika gōtra, Āgnivēśya kalpa (the science of medicine)[9] were settled in Puttūr (Tiruppattūr) on the upper Kuṇḍār in Koḷuvūr kūṟṟam. The grantee was Parāntakan son of Śrēṣṭi and grandson of Bhāskara the vedic scholar. This was granted on the request of Saḍaiya pirān Bhaṭṭa Sōmayāji of Pullamaṅagalam in Cōḷanāḍu. The *Āgñapti* was Kūṟṟankōn of Vēmbattūr of Kaḷavaḷināḍu (Sivagaṅga Taluk). The watch and ward) (*Kuḍikāval nāyakam*) was Kurakkumān of Kīḻvēmbunāḍu (Tirunelvēli), a minister of the king perhaps he led the elephant for circumambulation. The accountants were Nakkankōḍan of Śevvūr in Tirukkāṇappēr kūṟṟam, Padarañjōlai of in Kūṟṟam Kōn in of Peruṅgākūr in Kaḷattirukkai (division).

Parāntaka the grantees father Bhaskara Śresti top foremost of the "Ambālvas" had received a grant, of a village in Maniyācci[10] in Vadakalavali nādu renamed as Tiśaiccudarmaṅgalam from Parāntakā Vīranārāyaṇan, Rājasimha's father.

This grant brings out the mobility of the Brahmin families in the early decades of the 10th century. Also the geographical spread of the Pāṇdyan kingdom is evident. The officials entrusted with the implementation of the grant were drawn from Sivagaṅga Taluk, Tirunelvēli, Sevvūr near Kālaiyārkōil, Thañjāvūr in Arantāngi Taluk. The grant village itself was in Periyakulam Uttamapālayam Taluk in the Suruliar belt. Was this migration of a Brahmin apothecary family from Tiruppattūr to the Suruliār belt an indication of the desire to seek greener pastures with the more assured irrigation from Śuruliyār or the felt need for the professional service in the new area ? The supplicant hailed from the Cōla country rather unusually.

The last copper plate the grant of Vīrapāṇdya in his 3rd year (AD 949) may be noticed next. This was a grant of 3 Vēli double crop wetland in Vālaikkōdu which was situated in Nalapuram-koppam in Mēlavēmbunādu. In addition 10 *mā* of house sites in Murukūr were granted renamed as Sāsanamaṅgalam as Ēkabhōga Brahmadēya sequestering it from the village account and including it in the demand of the Nādu. The grant was of both *Kārāṇmai* and *Mīyātchi*. The grantee was a Brahmin Vāsudēva Pītāmbara Bhattar son of Gōvindasvami Bhattar whom the king had asked to compose some verses in Sanskrit. The grantee composed them in *anustub* metre and the king was pleased and granted the land. But a land demand of 14 *Īlakkāśu* was levied on the land. Hence though a Brahmadēya, it had still to pay a land demand. The king himself was in Sellūr alias Vīrapāṇdya-puram in Andanādu (Palani Taluk). The grant land was in Tirunelvēli Taluk. The officials were from Ranasiṅgamaṅgalam from Madurai and from Sennilakkudi in Tirupparuttikkudi nādu (Aruppukkōttai Taluk). The revenue officials (Puravuvari)[11] were from Narrirākkudi in Purattāya nādu (Rādhāpuram Taluk, Tirunelvēli District) and another from Śirusēvūr in Tirukkāṇappēr kūrram and two others. The grantee himself bailed from Mullinādu near Śērmādēvi of Ratidara gotra, Āśvalāyana sutra. The location of the land in Mēlvēmbunādu, near his native nādu is explicable.

Here again the native of officials indicate how they were drawn from diverse parts of the Pāṇdyan kingdom. The grant was personal in appreciation of the verses

composed by the grantee and hence perhaps a concessional land demand was stipulated. The house site (10 *mā* of long waste) should have comprised garden lands appurtenances besides the 3 *vēli* of wetland on the northern bank of Tāmbraparaṇi river. To maintain the integrity of the grant village it was constituted into a separate entity.

The evidence from these copper plates can summed up. Already in an earlier era grants for sacrifices and to Brahmin had been common. Their enjoyment was intercepted by the Kaḷabhra rule, (the rulers being of Jaina persuasion as is now established). When the Pāṇḍyas re-asserted themselves in the 8th century AD those dispossessed preferred their claims and the two villages (Vēḷvikkuḍi and Sōmāśikuṟicci) were regrants. The grantees were capable of performing various sacrifices and were well versed in *śruti* and the *Vēdas*.

The grantees were given both the *Kārāṇmai* and *Mīyātchi* rights the impact of which has been interpreted above to convey the grantees right to vary the rates of yield share due and not dispossession of the cultivating tenants. Lands granted had also carried with them a proportionate share of the dry lands and miscellaneous revenue (like fisheries, usufruct of trees etc). The lands were not necessarily divided by metes and bound but the shares in the yield were distinctly stipulated unoccupied lands were still available especially those which had relapsed into arable waste in dry rain fed belts.

Though the grants were termed Sarvaparihāra land dues at concessional rates were levied as for watch and ward services, but with rights to alienate by gift or sale of their property. A grant to an individual had potential for creating a community of holdings with a discretionary homogeneity often cemented by kinship.

The grantees were seen to be mobile. One came from Magadha (?) and another migrated from Tiruppattūr to Sinnamanūr in the Śuruḷiāṟu belt across the modern Rāmanāthapuram and Madurai districts. The stable wet cultivation and perhaps higher yield could have been the attractions.

The territorial division of the *Nāḍus* and the *Kūṟṟam* had become established. The *Nāṭṭār* as a collective body of resident occupants had a responsibility to demarcate the boundaries of the grant villages and plant prickly pear and stones and to implements the royal orders and admit the grantees to possession.

The royal officers entrusted with the execution of the grant were apparently designated from case to case. A considerable number of officers hailed from Kaḷakkuḍi (Ukkirankōṭṭai), Koḷuvūr and places as Paḷani Taluk and Mudukuḷattūr and Tirunelvēli Taluks. There was no distinction apparently between officers designated for civil and military functions and they were interchangeable. The role of the court and its officials and of the *Nāṭṭār* or the *Sabhās* explicity and how they interacted among themselves and also explicity brought out.

The copper plates reveal how the township oraganisation had been structured and had their functioning officials like the Madhyasthan and the accountants. The Township organisation had already become well established and not only its composition but its actvities can also be discerned from this evidence. This must have been undoubtedly the result of long usage and set procedures already evolved over time.

FOOT NOTES :

1. E I VOL. XVII p. 295 ff.
2. The term Kiḷān means a leading personage with influence learning or authority (vide *īḍu* 6, 3, 7)
3. Dr. Krishna Sastri identifies him as the *āgñāpti* of the Madras Museum (Śrivaramangalam) Plates : Dhirataran Mūrti-Eyinan and suggests that he could be the younger brother of Māṟankāri who figures in the Ānaimalai inscription of Mārañjaḍaiyan (E.I. XVII, p. 296).
4. *Kēḷvi* is the Tamil rendering of śruti and cannot refer to the official (Tiruvāykēḷvi) occuring in later inscriptions. The Sanskrit version explicit.
5. Ten copper plates of the Pāṇḍyas pp 60-61.
6. SII Vol. III 206
7. Ten Pāṇḍyan copper plates (pp 83-140)
8. Could it be Kākkūr in Sivagaṅga Taluk ?
9. Sinnamanūr Larger plates SII Vol. III 206.
10. This is not identified with Maniyācci as stated at p 444 Ibid. It was in Vadakaḷavaḷi and hence should be located in Tirupattūr Taluk (Ramnād Dt.) The family itself had settled in Tiruppattūr. The grantee Parāntaka took his name from his benefactor, the ruler.
11. The Term "Puravuvari" should be interpreted as the Revenue Official maintaining accounts of occupied holdings (Puravu and land demand accounts. It does not mean officers maintaSSSining accounts of village which were paying other demands on exemption of the king's land demand (p 182 Pāṇḍyan Copper plates Ten) In the instance case, a land demand was stipulated.

CHAPTER II

SECTION 3

EARLY PANDYAN TOWNSHIPS

The evidence adduced above throws light on the formation of the nādus and of the townships and their functioning in early Pāṇḍyan times.

The inscriptional evidence yield further date on some of the promotional activities both collectively of the *Nāṭṭār* and severally by the kings officials and noble personages besides individuals. These activities resulted in the reclamation of land construction of tanks or sources of irrigation and community amenities like the construction of temples or shrines or an *ambalam* (meeting places) or of a water-shed or a flower garden and latterly of a *maṭha.*

The account that follows also indicates the location and spread of settlements. To maintain the geographical integrity and the significance of the local, especially to suggest its local colouring the evidence is presented tractwise such as the Tāmraparaṇi basin, the Vaigai basin and the trans-Vaigai basin. Also the wealth of details they yield vividly bring out the community activity and the personages, who fostered it.

There is reason to presume that the river-fed and channel-fed lands irrigateable by gravity flow were already getting developed. The very existence of the *Brahmadēyas*, the *Ūrs* and the *Nagarās* noticed above will substantiate this. But the farther development of areas on the high level or dry belts witessed during the period was the result of the activity of the *Sabhā*, the *Ūr*, and the *Nagarā* and in other cases, the Nāṭṭār. They were indeed the main agencies responsible for giving an impetus to this activity.

The *Sabhā* had received deposits of cash for lamp and other services[1]. They could invest it or lend it to others in need of capital for investing on land reclamation or construction of tank or other public utilities. The townships also sold lands to the benefactors who desired to institute services[2]. The *Sabhaiyār* and their committee-members supervised the services to be rendered by others who undertook to perform them such as the temple priests, or those incharge of the sanctum sanctorum (*agaṇāḷigaiyāssr*)[3]

Above all, the *Sabhaiyār* were intent on reclaiming the lands and extend irrigation. For this purpose they sold the lands by them. The lands could have been dead assests,

even burdensome, if the *Sabhaiyār* had to pay land demand on the surrendered or escheated lands or cultivable waste vested with them. Hence they assiduously turned such lands into cultivable occupied holdings that could yield revenue. The Sabhaiyārs were thus relieved of their obligations they would otherwise have to collectively bear[4].

In the 4th year of Mārañjaḍaiyan the Mahāsabhaiyār of Vaikuṇta Vaḷanāḍu (in Nāṭṭāṟuppōkku) sold land to a Brahmin official (?) from Malaināḍu. The land was in the command area of Vāsudēvanēri. It was a collective holdings of the Sabhā (*Sabhaipodu*)[5]. But the parcel was sourrounded by occupied holdings of Tiruvaḍi Sōmāsiyār and his group (*Aṭṭakam* Co-parceners?) to the east; to the south Kāttukkuri Śēndasvāmi Kramavittan Sōmayājiyār had excavated a tank Araikuḷam and its bund was the boundary of the parcel. To the west too Vāmadēva Bhatta and his group had their holdings. To the north was a pathway running east-west. The land sold had the right to get water from the tank, Vāsudēvanēri along with the other contiguous plots in the block (*Kūṟu*)

A second parcel 11/160 *mā* and a third parcel which was also in the common holdings of the Sabhā 1/80 *mā* in extent in all 5¼ *mā* were sold to the benefactor who instituted a lamp service. The third plot too had occupied holdings to its east and south and to its west the bund of the Nakkanēri tank and to its north was the highway. The cash deposit made by the benefactor 120 *Kaḷañju* with the temple for food offerings was interest there of being adequate for defraying the land dues. This is assigned on palaeographical considerations to the reign of Varaguṇa I (AD 769).

The lands sold were in the common holdings of the Sabhā, who bore the obligations receiving the capitalised amount and turned the lands into occupied holdings. The dead capital asset which was a burden to them was turned into a revenue-yielding asset. It is significant that the plots were small $3\frac{5}{16}$, $\frac{11}{160}$, $\frac{1}{80}$, mā respectively; but they were surrounded by occupied holdings. Hence they could have vested in the Sabhā on account of default or desertion of the erstwhile holders or on eschet.

The price worked out to about 23 *Kaḷañju* per *mā* (of 33 cents) rather high but the capitalised amount for defraying the land-dues should accounts for a larger portion of the amount.

Land was also reclaimed to the west of Ambāsamudram in the 11th year Śadaiyan Māṟan. A block of waste land lay there as *puṟṟu* and *teṟṟi* (ant hills and high mounds) *Ariyān-aṇukkan* (the kings guard or personal staff member) Pūvan Paṟaiyan purchased

it from the Sabhaiyār of Ilangōikkudi. He reclaimed the lands and excavated a tank and with the water conserved in the tank he undertook to cultivate paddy, and measure 1 *Kalam Tūṇi* paddy per mā as Kidaippuram for tending cattle. The lands were on a higher level and hence he also endowed a person to bale out water and this was entrusted to the committee members of the Sabhā who were supervising the reclamation of Land in that part of the township. The reclaimed plot was named after the benefactor who also gave a cow and a calf[6]. The rate stipulated 1 *Kalam 1 Tūṇi* per *mā* was rather low compared to the levies in other river-fed lands perhaps it was This could speak for the lesser yield in a high level newly reclaimed land. Lift irrigation could also have led to lowering of the margin of the net yield.

The deposit of cash endowed by a donor to the Manōmayēśvara temple at Vijayanārāyaṇa Cm was invested on 6 mā of land. The Mahāsabhā met on a solar eclipse day in the temple itself[7]. (19th year of Śaḍaiyan Māṛan)

A chief Devan Śōlai of Mudunilam Kuḷattūr in Aḷaṛṛunāḍu (Mudukuḷattūr Taluk) purchased a waste land- Mudunilam) from the Sabhaiyār of Śaḍaṅkavikurucci and reclaimed it and endowed it to the temple at Āttūr[8] (SrivaikuntamTaluk)

A benefaction Pūdaṅguḍiyān Nattamaṅgalam had helped redeem the lands endowed for the deity at Peruṅguḷam and the temple establishment and had rendered other services to the deity. The original endowed lands had been resumed time earlier and assessed to revenue. In grateful recompense the Śaṭṭapperumakkaḷ (the Brahmin land holders?) Aganāḷigaiyār, (the temple servants in charge) Patiyār, the other residents, and the pañcācārvar (Śivabrāhmaṇas who performed Pūjās in the temple) of Tiruvaḷudīśvaram met and gave two shares equal in extent to their own to the benefactor and his progeny[9]. The temple accountant authenticated the gift.

The Mahāsabhā in Brahmadēya villages had not only a committees of the Mahāsabhā. These are set out in an inscription at Mānūr (near Kaḷakkudi) dated in the 35th year 469th day of Māṛañjaḍaiyan (Varaguṇa I)[10] Mānūr tank was fed by Chittār river and was a prosperous township. This is the earliest record of the constitution of the Mahāsabhā and its committees found in an inscription of AD 800-1. It is significant enough to be given in full with some modifications in the light of the interpretation adopted here[11].

The Mahasabhaiyār of Mānanilainallūr of Kaḷakkudi nāḍu having proclaimed a meeting met in Śrī Govardhana and made the following settlement or resolution for the members of the Mahāsabhā to adjudicate and decide issues. Among the share-

holders of this township when any one sits in adjudication he shall be one who had qualified in the Mantra and Brahman including one Dharmam and of good conduct. Only one representative for one share shall participate in the adjudication (committee). Among those who had got shares in exchange or by dowry also only those shall adjudicate who are qualified in Mantra and Brahmana including one Dharma and are of good conduct. In future those who acquire the franchise[12] (Śrāvaṇai) the Brahmin occupants with attainment in full in one Vēda, by purchase or exchange or dowry if they have only ¼, ½, ¾ or Śrāvaṇai and not in full, shall not get inducted or empowered to decide or express the verdict (of the Mahāsabhā). Among those who have purchased a share of land only those who are qualified and tested in one Vēda in all aspects together with the pariśiṣṭa (a class of works supplementary to the Sūtras)[13] shall be entrusted with the franchise (*Śrāvaṇai*) If, however, any one has acquired franchise not in terms of this decision he shall still be eligible to sit in adjudication only in terms of this decision. In terms of this decision, those without the full franchise shall not be eligible to be elevated to any kind of vāriyam (committee of the Mahāsabhā) Those who conform to these terms shall not be hindered by others saying no[14]. Those who hinder or abet the hinderers shall be liable to pay a fine severally, of *kāśu* and even therefter, the terms of this shall be strictly implemented. The Mahassabhaiyār arrived at a decision in these terms (By order of the *Mahāsabhā)*

This inscription is the earliest available evidence of a Sabhā the organised form of collective responsibility exercised by the constituents of a *Brahmadēya*. The *Mahāsabhā* had all those who had property and educational qualifications and also were of good conduct. But if any one them wished to serve in a committee then the qualifications were made even more stringent and more so for the committee for adjudicating affairs in the Township. If the Brahmadēya was a closed society the qualifications prescribed make it even more exclusive and rigorous. Possibly, the regulations were intended to prevent the dilution of the constituents of the *Mahāsabhā* due to sale or exchange or other means of acquisition. It was essentially a landed and learned aristocracy trying to shun those with lesser entitlements from becoming full and equal members in the Committees exercising the authority to function for and on behalf of *Mahāsabhā*. The effect of this decision should have been to narrow the members eligible to conduct the affairs of the *Mahāsabhā* and not to broaden it[15].

It goes without saying that the *Mahāsabhā* was entirely a body of Brahmin land owners. The people of other communities did live in the hamlets and had participation

in the agricultural and economic activity of the community they, however, had no voice in administering the affairs of the Brahmin township much less could they participate in its executive committees. The Mahāsabhā and its committees were institutions of a qualitative character with a high premium on property, learning and good conduct and it could not be thrown open to any with lesser merit.

However, those others had their own for in which they conducted the community affairs and had functions in relation to their townships similar to those of the Mahāsabhā in a Brahmadēya.

In AD 809 Irambāṭṭu vēḷān of Karaikkāna nāḍu raised a watershed in the name of Rāsākkar of Koṭṭāṟu in the Nāttar-river-fed Perumpaḷañji. The water suppliers were provided for by endowing lands fed by the Vēḷvi kumuḷi (sluice) of Peruṅguḷam of that township. 3 mā of land (in 5 parcels) were purchased from the Ūrār but the Brahmin leaders of Perumpaḷañji were to ensure the payment land-dues and arrange for rendering) free the services fastended on the lands. Rāsākkar was were to maintain and renew the watershed. The benefactor also dug a well for water to be taken to the watershed.

He also set up another watershed called Munnūṟṟuvar with a lamp and sheep to feed the lamp with ghee. Another purchase of land from the *Ūrār* of Perumpaḷañji for the maintenance of the keeper of the watershed and supplying water was made in the area cut of Iḍaikulam fed by the Mulaivoy-sluice consisting of 3 parcels, 2 *mā* in extent. The Kōilpiḷḷaigaḷ Munnūṟṟuvar (were they attached to the palace as chiefs) were to maintain and renew the shed and maintain it The chiefs of the *Nāḍu* who were in control of the *Nāḍu* were to protect he charity.[16]

This is an instance of purchase of land from the *Ūrār*. Here too the lands were in small parcells. The *Ūrār* also stood surety for the sheep endowed fpr the lamp to be lit in the watershed. The *Nāṭṭār*, the *Ūrārs* and *Sabhaiyār* were all involved in ensuring the maintenance of the watershed which were to be supervised by the kings chiefs or officers (?). The above instance are from *Brahmadēya* and the *Ūr* townships.

Ukkirankōṭṭai was an ancient fortified capital, variously called Kaḷakkuḍi,

Karavandapuram from which several ministers and officials of the warly Pāṇḍya rulers hailed. It was an important Nagara a mercantile city. The circumambulatory verandah of the shrine of Durga (VaḍaVāyil amman) at Kaḷakkuḍi was erected by Inban Devaṇachetti a member of Ayyapoḷil Aññuṟuvar, the mercantile guild which had far flung colonies in the whole of Dccan and the south and even in the countries across the seas in the far east.[17] These was an Ambalam called Nagarattān erected in the name of Nagarattār by Tennavan Pallavādiaraiyan who was Mahānāyaka of Kaḷakkudi in Rajasiṅgappērangāḍi (a mercantile settlement) The Nagarattār and soldiers of the rampart were to gether to ensure the maintenance of the ambalam. The benefactor also provided for cleaning the flooring with cowdung by a deposit of 10 Īḻakkāśu which was to yield 5 *nāḻi* of paddy as interest to be given to the sweeper daily. He added 2 more *kāśu* for a potter to provide lamps and pots (?).[18]

In the 15th year of Śaḍaiyan Māṟan (Rājasimha III) the wife of Tennavan Pallavādiaraiyan (Māṟan Śūran) gave 500 sheep for a lamp to the Sūrya temple at the eastern entrance of the Nagarattār and the soldiers of the rampart[19].

Here then in the ancient capital of the Pāṇḍyas a prosperous mercantile community had its settlement and was attending to its civic affairs.

A few Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions (undated) in the Maṇḍapa in the third prākāra of the Tirunelvēli temple record the gift of pillars of Adigaḷ Araṅgan and Araṅga Muttan of Kaḷakkuḍi[20].

From the 8th century onwards if not earlier the rock-cut shrines for the Hindu pantheon have been excavated either at the behest of the king or on their own by the high officials of the court.

The rock cut temple of Mahādēva of Kalayaḍikuṟicci (Śaṅkarankōil Taluk) was caused top be carved by Pāṇḍimaṅgalavādirāśan Ēran, the noble man (kiḻān) from Śēvūr under orders of the king Māṟancēndan in his 17th regnal year. Cēnden had assigned to the 7th century[21].

In AD 770 in Kārtika (November-December month) a rich agrahāra Naraśiṅgam near Ānaimalai 6 miles east of Madurai was given away by Madhurakavi the wise minister of the Pāṇḍya Parāntaka (Varaguṇa I). The minister was an illustrious member

of the Vaidya family and a resident of Karavandapuram (Kalakkudi in Tirunelvēli Dt.) His name as given in the Tamil Inscription was Mūvendramaṅgalappēraraiyan Mārankāri. He died even before the temple could be consecrated. Thereafter his younger brother Pāṇḍimangala viśaiaraiyan Māran Eyinan who also suceeded his brother as Uttaramantri added a Mukhamaṇḍapa in front and consecrated the temple[22].

Three years later (AD 773-774) in the month of Thaiṣa (December-January) a Mahāsāmanta under king Māraṅjadaiyan Varaguṇa-I, also a Vaidya from Karavaṇḍapuram Pāṇḍi Amirdamaṅgalavaraiyan, Śāttan Gaṇapati excavated a tank and made some endowments at Tirupparaṅkunram. His wife Nakkankorri scooped shrines for Durga and Jēṣta.

It may be appropriate to sumup the history of the fortified city of Karavandapuram, which was the native place of distinguised royal servants from the time of Varaguṇa I who claims to have built a fort and beautified this city.[23] In AD 918 in the reign of Śadaiyan Māran (Rajasimha III) the Mahānāyaka of Kaḷakkudi Tennavan Pallavadiaraiyan (whose life had hailed from Kunnūr in Karunīlakkuḍi nāḍu) had caused a mercantile colony to be set up in front of the main victories gate of the fortified township. The colony was named after the ruler Rāśingappēruṅguḍi. In the of the Nagarattār (the mercantile body) he erected a common hall (ambalam) and named it after them as Nagarattār. He provided for a perpetual lamp and gave 100 sheep (by the three niyāyam, the meaning of which is unclear). This was undertaken by the commander in charge of the forces of the village, Nakkan Munnūrruvan. He had a survey in another Commander, Venravāypēśi. This sevice was to be ensured by the Nagarattār and the madil-śēvagās the soldiers guarding the rampart walls. Provision was made for cleaning, sweeping and mopping and the same donor gave 10 Īlakkāśu. This capital (Kalañju) was to stand permanent and as interest per day 5 nāḷi of paddy was to be given to cleaner[24]. The Nagarattār added 2 *kasu* to cover an additional service and entrusted it to one potter (Veḷkōvan) and 3 shepherds (Kōn) so that they might attend to this work on hereditary basis. The order of the Nāyakan Tamiḷapallavadaraiyan was reduced to writing by Arasiyamānikkan.

In AD 922 the wife of Tennavan Pallavadiaraiyan, Tudarūri gave 50 sheep for a lamp in the shrine of the Sun God at its eastern gate of the fort.

A third inscription refers to a circumambulatory (Verandah) to the shrine of the goddess Vaḍavāyil amarndāḷ (Durga) at Kaḷakkudi erected by Inban Dēvanaccetti, a member of the Ayyapoḷil Aññuruvar.

In the 15th year have been made from the month of Kārtikai for some special

offerings to this Durga on the northern gate, Karavandapuram is said to be in Pāṇḍi mārtāṇḍa vaḷanāḍu.

It is significant that the shrines for the Sun god and Durga were located as specified in the Āgamās and Kautilyaś Arthasastra as they are the guardian deities at the different directions. Also Durga was the patron deity of the Nagara community of Ayyapolil Aññuṟṟuvan.

There were also other temples and townships as in Kuṟṟālam, Ambāsamudram, Tirunelvēli, Peruṅgulam, Tiruccendūr, Tirukkuruṅguḍi, Daḷapati Samudram, Vijaya nārāyaṇam (Tirunelvēli District), Tiruppattūr, Paḷḷimadam (Rāmanāthapuram District) and Sinnamanūr, Tēnur, beside Madurai. These temples were rising increasingly in importance and were provided for both by the royal grants and by the Township organisations besides individuals and their families.

Two cash grants both made in the reign of Varaguṇa Maharaja II, one to the deity Tiruppōttuḍaiya nāyanār at Ambāsamudram and another Subrahmaṇya at Tiruccendūr need to be considered in depth. The first is dated in the 16th year (AD 878) the second falls in the latter part of the reign (. . . . . + 3)

Varaguṇa II from his camp at Araiśūr on the banks of Peṇṇāṟu granted to Tiruppōttuḍaiya nāyanār temple at Ilaṅgōykuḍi (Ambāsamudram) 290 kāśu which were entrusted to the Sabhaiyār of Ilaṅgōykuḍi[25]. The interest yield of one *kāśu* was 2 *kalams* paddy per year. The total interest yield was hence 580 *kalams*. The Vāriyar, the committee membes of the *Sabhā* were to personally superintend the services to be conducted, and food offering to be made to the deity. The latter comprised rice 4 *nāḻi*, boiled or seamed green gram, (*uri*) ghee, curd, plantains4, gur, curry, tamarind curry 2, steamed curry 1, and fried curry 1 in all 5. betel and nuts rounded off the offerings. They would indicate a rather high fat content and starchy content of the food offerings.

The paddy outlay on the differrnt items to be produced and the rate per unit are given in the table below :

ITEM	KALAM PADDY PER YEAR	PRICE ITEM NĀḶI / PADDY		REMARKS
Red rice (polished)	192 Kalam[26]			Paddy to rice recovery rate 3 : 1 being polished (The ratio of ghee to curd 1 : 10)
		PER Nāḷi	: PADDY	
Green gram	24 Kalam	1	: 3	
ghee	180 Kalam	1	: 30	
curd	48 Kalam	1	: 3	
Plantain	32 Kalam	2 per nāḷi		
Gur	24 Kalam	Palam 1	: nāḷi uri	
Vegetable Curry	16 Kalam	Palam 10	: 1 nāḷi	
Condiments 27	19-3 Kalam	uḷakku	= 6 nāḷi	
Betel	16 Kalam	1 parru	+ 2 nāḷi	
Nuts	28 Kalam	20 nuts	= 3 nāḷi uri 1	
	12 Kuruṇi	nāḷi	- 2 nāḷi	

The Tiruccendūr inscription records[28] the grant of 1400 *kāśu* (here specified as *Palankāśu* of undiminished weight) The rate of interest yield in paddy is the same as in Ambāsamudram i.e., 2 *kalams* per 1 *Palankāśu.*

The able editor of the inscription has tabulate[29] the township organisations among whom the kings deposit of kāsu were distributed. They were spread over Kuḍanāḍu. (7 Townships) Vaḷudi Vaḷanāḍu (4) Srivallabha Vaḷanāḍu (1) Parantaka Vaḷanāḍu (3) and Amitaguṇa Vaḷanāḍu (1) in all 16 of the 4 were *Ūrārs,'Nagarattār* and the remaining 11 were *Sabhaiyārs.* The items to be supplied are listed together with the quantities equal to the paddy yield by way of interest on the amount of cash vested with them. The rate of fine enforced for default coupled with the condition to supply double the quantity in default was also stipulated the rate of fine varied from a maximum of 50 *kāśu* to 5 *kāśu* at the minimum stepping down to 25, 12½ in between varying according to the quantum of the capital vested with every one them. The items to tbe supplied by every one of these organisations are also given with the quantities.

A few points of interest emerge from an intensive analysis of the contents of this epigraph. The exchange value for 1 *kāśu* in terms of paddy is 10 *kalams*. Thus the interest rate works out to 20%.* The prices per unit of the commodities are also given some of these items are common with those recorded in the Ambāsamudram inscription and their comparison is very fascinating. The table below sets out the price unit of such comparable items.

It will be seen that several items pulses, ghee, condiments, betel and nuts were cheaper in Tiruccendūr at the time of the grant than the corresponding prices at Ambāsamudram in the 16th year of the reign. Only plantain and vegetable were phenomenally expensive.

The learned editor in *Epigraphia Indica* attributes this to the difference in time between the two records, he presumes the difference in locality (as the two being not far removed from each other) could not be a contributory factor.

Ambāsamudram located in the head reaches of the Tāmbraparaṇi river command could have had greater proximity for sources of supply for plantains and vegetables. But these items had to be brought from the Tāmbraparaṇi-fed lands near Nallūr in Kuḍanāḍu. The stretch from the tail end of the Tāmbraparaṇi basin to Tiruccendūr is sandy and the means of transport drawn by draught bulls should have found it difficult to negotiate the stretch of sandy coast, especially in the summer months from February to June. Two important festivals out of three when twice the supplies had to be made fall in this season. The items were also perishables and wastage and loss could have entailed in transit and storage. Usually in inscriptions the wastage and loss in transit were to the account of the suppliers who had to deliver the commodities at the temple court-yard, if later phraseology could be stretched to this period. These could be more valid reasons to explain the variations. The price differential could be attributed to the place besides time utility for the consumable and perishable items.

The general level of prices at the time of Ambāsamudram grant for pulses, cereals, ghee and curds and betel and nuts was distinctly higher. Possibly, the Pāṇḍya-Cōḷa war could have been a contributory factor. For the grant itself was made from Araiśur, on the banks of the Peṇṇāṟu where the king had his military camp. Another reason could be at least, condiments like pepper, arecanut etc. could reach Tiruccendūr by the roadsteads nearby by sea from the west coast and so too camphor from abroad.

These are only conjectures, that in the span of one reign though long price variations had been noticed between the upper Tāmbraparaṇi belt and Tiruccendūr at the coast is noteworthy. The location of Tiruccendūr in the sandy littoral with the prevailing modes of transport could be a factor that accounted for the price differential of the perishables.

COMPARITIVE STATEMENT OF PRICES

S. No.	AMBĀSAMUDRAM INSCRIPTION	TIRUCCENDŪR INSCRIPTION	REMARKS
1	Paddy	1 kāśu = 10 kalams	
	per nāḷi : paddy in nāḷis		
2	Green gram 1 : 3	1 : 2½	Cheaper
3	Ghee 1 : 30	2 : 20	Cheaper
4	Curds 1 : 3	1 : 2	Cheaper
5	Plantains 2 Nos. : 1 nāḷi	No. 2 : 1 4/5 nāḷi	Costly
6	Gur palam 1 : 1 nāḷi uri	Palam 1 : naḷi 1 uri 18/81	Cheaper
7	Vegetables palams 10 : 1 nāḷi	10 Palms : 4½ nāḷi	Over 450% Costly
8	Condiments uḷakku : 6 nāḷi	1 nāḷi : 15 nāḷi	. . . .
	1 nāḷi = 24 nāḷi	1 uḷakku : 3¾ nāḷi	Cheaper
9	Betal 1 parṟu : 2 nāḷi	1 parṟu : 45/61 nāḷi	Cheaper
10	Nuts 20 : 3 nāḷi	20 : 1 79/101 nāḷi	Cheaper
11	Lime 1 nāḷi : 2 nāḷi	not stated	. . .

The table below shows several other items for which price per unit can be derived from the Tiruccendūr inscriptions.

Milk	1 *nāḻi*	= 2 *nāḻi*	Same as for curds
Tender Coconut	1 No.	= 1 *nāḻi*	(1 coconut could yield only uḻakku water. This yield appears to be low too)
Flower	1 *nāḻi*	= 6 *nāḻi*	
Turmeric	1 *Kāṇam*	= 11 *nāḻi* uḻakku or 9 *nāḻi*	
	1 *nāḻi* 1 *nāḻi* + ½ *uḻakku*		
Incense	Rate not available		
Sandal paste	1 *Tulām*	= 1 *kāśu*	
	1 *Palam*	= 9 *nāḻi* paddy	
White camphor	1 *Kaḻañju*	= 60 *nāḻi*	

Another interesting feature that is brought out in this inscription is the varieties of cloth for different uses and priced differently. They are tabulated below:

1. White cloth for garment (*Oliyal*[30]) and for spreading rice (*Pāvāḍai*)	1 *kāśu* per pair	=	4 16	per quarter per year
2. For the roof cover of the kitchen	2½ *kāṇam*[30] for per one iṇai (pair)	=	2 4	per 6 months per annum
3. Cloth for Kalpurai (?) (Platform for spreading food offerings (?)	2 *kāṇam* per pair	=	2 8	per 3 months per year
4. White cloth to cover roof in the *sanctum sanctorum*	7½ kāṇam per pair	=	4 8	per 6 months per year
5. Cloth for deity				
(a) to be bedecked	3 *kāśu* per Iṇai (per year)	=	1 4	per 3 months per year
(b) to be bedecked	3 *kāśu* per Iṇai (per year)	=	1 4	per 3 months per year
(b) to be bedecked	3 *kāśu* per Iṇai (per year)	=	3 8	per 3 months per year

(In all 16 pairs of 3 *kāśu* (Variety) for deity's apparel)

Five distinct varieties of cloth could be identified, their price ranging from 2 *kāṇams* per pair to 3 kāśu, this last for the apparel of the deity. The inferior cloth was for roof coverings. For a troupe of the drummers at 4 *kalams* - 10 *kuruṇi* 1 *nāḷi uri* per month for the whole year 57 *kalams* of paddy was the payment. Perhaps this was an additional endowment besides the normal service tenure lands and perquisites that were due to them.

From the items food preparation given, a comment may be made on the dietary habits of the Brahmin and the priestly class. Polished rice (1 : 3) bereft of bran was consumed rather heavily. Green gram the only protein used was moderate and two items were of steamed dished of green gram and vegetables. But fried vegetables were also consumed with tamarind or curd base for two others. Above all, ghee was consumed in large quantities at the rate of *uḷakku* per one service and uri curds. To fry condiments too in addition 1 *āḷākku*[31] of ghee was used. These rates of ghee consumed were also stipulated for the services at Tiruccendūr. It provided for 1½ times the curds, 1 nāḷi for 4 curries and one curd-based *Kūṭṭu*, making in all five. The condiments used also were five, turmeric, cummins, mustard, pepper, and corriander seeds. But no black gram or toordhal is listed nor are any chillies. No oil, gingely or coconut, is mentioned. Even condiments added were fried only in ghee. It may be presumed that the Brahmins fed in temples and in their own homes would have identical preparations. If so their diet was heavily weighted in starch and could have lacked vitamins B, but high cholesterol fatty ingredients were used. The consumers could have been prone to be somewhat stocky, with ponches, and prone to early thickening of arteries. Mortality rates, at least among the vegetarian literate could have been high.

But the same could not be said of the agricultural and other classes like merchants whose non vegetarian diet could have been more balanced with fish and roasted meat added to it. It may be added that even in the Saṅgam age poets wax eloquent on the meat dishes, "Chops of meat cooled after boiling, soft like the carded cotton", and the flesh of animals cooked whole such as pork the flesh of tortoises and particular kinds of fish[32].

The grant to the Tiruccendūr temple was made through Iruppaikkuḍi kiḷavan, Śāttan Perumān as he is named here. His is Eṭṭiśāttan (as given in the Erukkaṅguḍi inscription). He had served with distinction both Varaguṇa II and his father Śrīmāran-Śrīvallabha. In the 8th year of the latter (AD 823) he reconstructed in granite the sluices originally provided in brick by Tirunedumāṛan (ie., Śrīmāran Śrīvallabha) at Peruṅguḷam and two other sluices, Ponnān and Pūṅguri-māḍai and Pūdikkuḷam[33].

Eight years later (16th year of Śadaiyan Māṟan AD 831) he dismantled the old bund and laid stone revetment at the foundations and extended the bund to the east of Karuṅguḷam and west of a sluice Mannumaḍai and provided another sluice on the extended bund. Apparently he had enlarged the capacity of the tank by providing stone revetments in foundations, so that the bund may not be washed away and has extended the bund so that with the additional capacity supply could made through the new sluice to additional lands either for stabilising or for extending irrigation[34].

Eṭṭi Sāttan hailed from Iruñjonāḍu (in Sāttūr Taluk) and had a great penchant for undertaking and improving public works, especially irrigation sources in the Vaippār belt in Sāttūr. He was hence honoured and given the title of "Iluppaikkuḍi Kiḻavan" by the king[35].

Among his many benefactions (including temples and the Jaina shrines constructed by him) he cared for extension of irrigation with a view to raise paddy, sugarcane, coconut and areca palms. He built a fine tank called Kiḻavanēni (referred to above). He raised the embankment of Māṟanēri, increased its capacity and enlarged Vallaikuḷam at Iruppukkuḍi, his native place. He excavated channels and provided a through for the passage of water. He also improved Tirumālēri, Nērimaḍaiēri, Araśaṅguḷam, Seṅguḷam and Māṟanēri. He repaired the Peruṅguḷam at Nenmali and provided a stone sluice. At Siṟupputtūr he improved the tank called Pāḻikkuḷam. He rebuilt an earlier sluice Vēppamaḍai with stone and built two more sluices Ponnān-maḍai and Pūṅguṟi-maḍai. He also improved the big tank at Ālaṅguḍi and built a new tank at Kurumanamaṅgalam. He executed the king's grant of Śrīvallabhamaṅgalam and here too he opened a tank Tirunāraṇan Ēri with proper outlets[36].

Here was a highly noble and public spirited official who served two Pāṇḍyan rulers, who had long reigns. This official had understood that the true means of inscreasing prosperity contentment and wealth of the people was to construct new tanks to harness the water both of the rains and the streams. To increase the capacity of the existing tanks, he provided stone revetments to bunds and additional sluice to expand āyacuts and excavated field channels and replaced the earthern or brick structure with stone.

The tract where these works were undertaken was in a black cotton terrain. It received freshes during the north-eastern monsoon with propensities for cyclonic storm, and thunder showers, breaching the tanks and causing havoc, The Vaippār flowing through the tract also could have been receiving freshes during the season, and not un often the water would have entered the tanks and breashed, Iluppakkuḍi kiḻavan would have been a person of no mean engineering skill who had understood the problem on ground and undertook works of merit and utility. He deserved all the praise that

the verses bestow on him. The crops listed in the verse as capable of being raised are more an index of the range and order of values obtaining at the time, than of the soil capabilities of the tract.

The value of irrigation sources of their maintenance and repairs was widely recognised. Two more instances could suffice. South Srivilliputtūr and the Paramakkuḍi tract were also dry belts in the trans-river regions. They depended most on the local rainfall and the need to store the rain water was imperative. Paruṅguḷam was a tank which needed repairs. It lay to the north of Parānkuśaparṟu. In the 7th year of Śaḍaiyan Māṟan (AD 912), a noble man Śaṅkaran Mūli Arulākki, a kiḻān of Punavēli[37] in Āṇmānāḍu repaired it. In grateful recognition the Mahāsabhā of Srivilliputtūr named a sluice and a channel after him[38].

Varguṇīsvara temple at Śālaigrāmam (Paramakkuḍi Taluk) was presumbly named after Varaguṇa I. His son Śrīmāṟan Śrīvallbha had remitted the land dues and had ordered that the Dēvadāna lands shall be irrigated by Kuḻuvāṇai Ēri. This decision was conveyed by a letter (Śrīmukham) of that king. In the 3rd year of his grandson Śaḍaiyan Māṟan (Rājasimha II AD 908). The order was conveyed to the Sabhā of Śalaigrāmam, a Dēvadāna-Brahmadēya village. The lands were irrigated by Varamoḻi tank Vāsudēvanēri. The land dues had been remitted (oḻiñju) and the corresponding amount had been reduced from the total land dues due from the Sabhā. The king ordered that the Dēvadāna lands shall be entitled to the irrigation from Kuḻuvāṇai ēri and that the occupants of Neduvūr were ordered not to obstruct the supply[39].

The river belt of Vaigai had greater national facilities. Even as early as in the 7th century an inscription dated in 50th year of Śēndan (a Pāṇḍyan ruler) records the founding of Maṅgaḷapuram and the construction of a sluice in Vaigai and a channel that was excavated taking off from the river sluice which was named after the king Arikēsariyān[40]. There is a reference to Paruttikkuḍi nāḍu which was near about Tiruculiyal and Paḷḷimadam. The epigraph is incomplete and how this Nāḍu come to be mentioned in the context of the excavation of this channel is not clear. The slab itself was unearthed from the bed of the Vaigai river while digging for water.

In the dry uplands of Madurai district bordering Vedaśandūr an irrigation work was undertaken in the late 8th century. Parāntaka Paḷḷi Vēḷan *alias* Nakkan-Puḷḷan excavated a tank and named it as Puḷḷanēri and provided stone revetments and a sluice to the tank. But he died while the work was incomplete. His son Puḷḷan Nakkan completed it. The stone mason who constructed it was Vaḍukankūṟṟan. His son completed the work, and Puḷḷan Nakkan gave a grant of land for the work done in the 2 Kūṟus (Parcels) in Paḷḷināḍu, which was to be irrigated by the tank of the village and entitled to receive supplies from the tank. Each was sowable with a Padakku of paddy[41].

These individuals, father and son had served in the military compaigns of Varaguṇa Mahārāja I in Iḍavai, Viḻiñam and Tirukkuḍamūkku in Cēra and the Cōḻa kingdom[42]. The father had served under Neḍuñjaḍaiyan Varaguṇa I, (AD 765-815) and the son under both Śrīmāṟan Śrīvallabha and Varaguṇa II (AD 815-862 AD 862-880). They must have been long lived to serve these rulers especially, the son who was conferred a title by Varaguṇa II

While irrigation practices got established the need was felt for regulation and equitable distribution. Apparently in Sinnamanūr in the channel-fed lands some had sown Kuṟuvai (the first crop) earlier and drawn water. The Sabhaiyar of Arikesarinallūr laid down that if anyone abstracted water for such advance cultivation they shall pay a fine of 10 kāśu per mā and shall not still raise the crop. The branch-channel taking off from the Śrīkaṇṭa Vāykkāl shall be opened only in accordance with this decision and any one who transgressed it was liable to punishment[43].

This is to safeguard the interest of the channel-fed lands as whole and to prevent disproportionate enjoyment of water by the lands in the head-reach to the detriment of others lower down. It was the collective vigil of the Mahāṣabhā which ensured it.

The kings officials too, had made check of accounts and endowments of temples. The intensive check of the accounts of the (Śrī Kaṇṭēśvara) temple at Kīḻ Māttūr is borne out by three records[44]. The temple itself (which was probably a brick structure) was renovated in stone by a Chief Tennavan Kaṇḍan Śāttan (who is eulogished in a verse)[45]. He investigated the affairs of the temple and himself reclaimed some parcels of land and a garden and prescribed a scale of offerings and wages for services with the total paddy yield due on the endowments in cash and in land. A fragment states that the *Iṟai* and *Eccōṟu* and other liabilities shall be divided into 3 shares (*kūṟu*) and borne as below :

1/3 - that land held by the donor as Ācārya Bhōga and reclaimed and a garden formed . 1/3 - the deity to bear the tax liabilities . 1/3 endowed for Aganāḻigaiyār, the temple priests - to be borne by them:

1/3 endowed for pipe service to be borne by the piper[46]. Unfortunately the inscriptions are in fragments and damaged. The rice for offerings seems to be polished at 10 : 8 and the allowance for the wastage while hulling (*kuttal*) and polishing was 3 *nāḻi* 3 *Uḻakku* for 17 nāḻi of rice It would appear the 10 : 8 recovery was of the rice before polishing as the paddy is calculated double the quantity of rice and a separate allowance for further wastage in rice is allowed (*maradam*) which is about 25%. The wages for the (*Kuṟuvāi*) labour was 1 *Kuṟuṇi* per *kalam* or 1/12 or 8 1/3%.

An inscription dated 12th year of Vīra Pāṇḍya, who took the head of the Cōḷa, from Ambāsamudram[47] is significant. He endowed 10 vēlis of land (which had river irrigation (*Āṟṟu Pāyccal*) with the rights of the Kārāṇmai of the occupants and *Mī yātci* rights for the deity on the day of a Solār eclipse on *Kuḍi nīṅgā dēvadānam.*

Some 8 years later the scales of services and offerings to be done in the temple from out of the proceeds were settled. The executive looking after the temple affairs Dēvan Kiriman gave out the terms:

			nāḷi
(1)	For food offerings to the deity 8x4 (*Sandhies*)		32
(2)	Food offerings for *bali*		6
(3)	Curries		1
(4)	Tiruvēṅgaḍa nilai dēvar		4
(5)	Tirumūlattānattu dēvar		4
(6)	Cēṇapati		2
	Total	.	49 *nāḷi*

Per year paddy - over 680 kalams

For service holders

(i)	Achariyan Mūnnūṟṟuvan Śēndan - 1	-	10 mā
(ii)	Kaṇakka bhaṇḍāram (Accountant of the Temple Treasury)		
(iii)	8 bachelors of which 3 to assist Mūnnūṟṟuvan Śēndan, 1 to assist Mūnnūṟṟuvan eriyān and 4 to Kasanakkalan (?)		1¼ - 2 mā 32 mā (i.e., 4 mā for each)
(iv)	For the pipers		1/7 of the dity's Share (Dēvar Paḍuvāram) of supply of cloth.
	for the bachelors		6/7 for the supply of clothes.

(v)	Pipers - Ganapati kumaradi - (1 persons)	1¼ vēli or 25 mā
	(Śrī kāryaṁ superintendent) rice 4 nāḷi	7 mā
	Potter	2 mā
	supplier of fire wood	2 mā
	For cleaning the temple	2 mā
	Washermen	2 mā
	for festivals	1 vēli
	for the stone mason Acāryan - Mānābharaṇan Śendan who renovated the temple	¼ vēli
	Grand Total	10 vēli

The lands of service establishment works out to nearly 6 *vēli*. From the 7 *mā* of endowment to yield 4 *nāḷi* of rice it can be deducted that the yield per mā was about 5 *kalams*.

A Summing up :

The three centuries from 7th to the 10th was a period of intense activity in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom successive rulers, Rājasimha (AD 730-765) Parāntaka Neḍunjeḷiyan (AD 765-815) Śrīmāṛan-Śrīvallabha (AD 815-862) Varaguṇa II (AD 862-885) Pārāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa (AD 860-905) and Māṛavarman Rājasimha (905-920) were all rulers who had waged wars with the neighbouring Cēra rulers on the West and had taken expeditions to the North or to subdue the chieftains and meet the Sinhala onslaughts.

But it was also a period of constructive activity. New Brahmadēyas and other village settlement had increased and extension of cultivation had proceeded apace. Besides rock-cut shrines in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom the brick structures vere renovated, the stone structures had been substituted.

Above all the attention paid to irrigation was noteworthy. Channels taking off from rivers and cuts across rivers and the streams helped to irrigate lands away from the course of the river systems. To conserve water during flood and monsoons, complementary tanks had also been built wherever the gradient and levels of lands would permit. This should have called for a higher engineering skill and knowledge of the terrain. To ensure the embankments were not washed off stone revetments were provided. Sluices were rebuilt with stone and distributory channels laid. Regulated flows were ensured customary obligations being enforced.

During this period agricultural settlements had extended even to the comparitively dry upland areas where jungle streams and fall were harnessed. Water harvesting was assiduously practiced. Alongside in river fed areas extension of cultivation was creeping up into the waste lands ahead of the ridge.

This enabled a variety of crops to be grown-paddy, sugarcane, plantains, turmeric. But dry crops for the consumption of the general population should also have been widely undertaken. The day to day needs had already become varied-oil, ghee condiments, betel, nuts, sandal, camphor, and incense. These last articles of luxury should have come from outside the tract.

Trade both within and without had become established. The merchant community had settlements but there were also representatives of the trans-regional mercantile community, the Ayyapoḷil as at Ukkirankōṭṭai. Kaḷakkuḍi as it was then known had the noble-men, the chieftains besides the prosperous Brahmin settlements like Mānūr-near about. The trading community were essentially concentrated in such locations as at Kaḷakkuḍi, the Pāṇḍyan capital Madurai and down south in the Nāṭṭāṟṟuppōkku in Nāngunēri Taluk. This lay midway between the Cēra or Vēnāḍu track across the Thōvaḷa pass and the fertile Tāmbraparaṇi and Paccaiyār belts.

The east coast road steads Koṟkai, Kāyal, and a number of Paṭṭinams should also have been commercial centres what with the pearl fishing for which the Pāṇḍya country had attained fame. But the productivity of cattle was static throughout the period and low. The coinage had varied from the Kaḷañju or paḷankāśu of higher value to the *kāśu* (made perhaps of copper alloy). The numismatic evidence still requires to be investigated in depth and correlation established between the epigraphic evidence and the actual coins in circulation.

Prices too have shown variations from one part of the tract to another within the same reign. Tiruccendūr with access from the sea had perhaps shown a decline in commodity prices except in perishables which were to come on land through a sandy tract from the Tāmbraparaṇi delta areas. Ambāsamudram had advantage in the latter, the perishables but the prices of cereals, pulses, and condiments, were higher in the earlier part of the reign of Varaguṇa II.

The community organisation was already evolved and organised. Even at the begining of the period the Pāṇḍyan kingdom had geographical divisions, Vaḷanāḍus

and *Nāḍus*. Within these division the three types of settlements with occupancy rights vested with the residents therein had taken roots-the *Brahmadēya* and *dēvadāna* and the *Ūr* and the *Nagarā*. They were collective organisations. The Brahmadēya had committees constituted specific functions to be attended to by them. But the trend was alreadey seen to be restrictive and exclusivist. For membership of the committees required knowledge of the Vēḍa, with all its ancillary works, occpancy in land and good character. Acquisition of land by exchange, purchase and by dowry was possible. Possibly, the regulations of the *Mahāsabhā* of Mānūr were intended to preserve the integrity and identity of the constituents without any dilution which they were apprehending might result from such transfer of land, property to those less than qualified otherwise.

The mode of organisation and way of life did not admit of water-tight compartments in any activity. There were a number of bodies or agencies undertaking similar functions, the *Ūr*, the *Nāṭṭār*, the *Sabhā* and the bodies like 1,700, the Śivabrāhmaṇās and the royal officers and the revenue officials had all undertaken responsibilities of ensuring that the purpose of the endowed cattle, land or other deposits were carried out. The royal officials, too were attending to both civil and military functions and were designated for specific assignments like implementing the charter of *Brahmadēya* grants. Towards the end of this period, already they were taking up audit of the account and assets endowed for temples.

The frame work of the agrarian structure could have left comparatively less for the tillers of the soil. But they had security of tenure, residential habitats and almost hereditary succession in their avocations. They had the customary obligations to perform to the community, to the grantees of the *Brahmadēyas*, and *Dēvadānas* and the king. The maintenance of irrigation sources the channels were all entirely their responsibility.

Besides agriculture, economic activity had ensured diversification of occupation: stone masons, potters, washermen and the weavers. These last could have been employed in manufacturing a variety of cotton fabrics and there were as many as five varieties of cloth to be provided for varied uses, the most expensive for bedecking the deities, and the least for roof undercovers.

By the end of the period the form and the function of the Townships and become well established. But there was still scope for extension of agriculture even in the riverine tracts and perhaps more in the rain fed uplands. The Cōḷa conquest of the Pāṇḍyas towards the end of the tenth century could and did open up the avenues

for such extension. The density of population and of occupied holdings could have been more in the Cauvery delta. With the conquest and incorporation of Pāṇḍyan kingdom in their domain, their armies moved south, and set up cantonments. Their generals formed new townships, built temples and provided for their services. Along with these military movements, the Brahmins and the Veḷḷāḷas also had moved south as the nativity of the former clearly suggest. This pressure of the migratory population who had settled down south should have given an impetus for further extension of agriculture and of irrigation and formation of new habitats. Purchases of land had also become more oftener and those could have had effect on the land prices bothways.

In areas where waste could be reclaimed the land price could have been less. Did the lands already occupied and cultivable when they were assigned for temples suffer in value, some reduction ? When Brahmadeya lands were purchased, did the land-value again rise ? When tenures were changed the incidence of obligations could have also became shifted. Whether these economic possibilities had actually occured. or whether the force of "*longue duree*" had tampered with them has to be analysed with reference to the available evidence.

The following chapters deal with these trends, and to delineate the changes that occurred from the 10th to 13th centuries.

FOOT NOTES:

1. SII XIV 5 Tirupattūr
2. SII XIV 31 Kaḻugumalai
3. SII XIV 36, 27
4. On this aspect please see tha authors "Land grants and agrarian reactions" - Madras University
5. SII XIV 19 Tirukuruṅguḍi
6. SII XIV 56
7. SII XIV 67
8. SII XIV 61
9. SII XIV 74
10. SII XIV 87 EI XXII No3
11. Dr.R.Nagaswamy has given a refreshingly new interpretation of the inscription which has been corraborated by a recently discovered Cōḻa inscription from Tiruninṟavūr. His interpretation is followed here. REF: Studies in Ancient Hindu Law by Dr.R.Nagaswamy.
12. The term franchise is used in the senseof full "membership of the Mahāsabhā".
13. Monier Williams - Skt Dictionary p.602
14. I have translated 51-56 differently from Prof.Sastri - EI XXII p II to make this passage more intelligible in the light of the interpretation adopted.
15. The translated text of the Tiruninṟavūr inscription is appended to this section.

16. SII XIV - 40. In the reign of Jat. Srivallabha, (AD 1090 to 1116) a Brahmadēya village, called Munnurruvamaṅgalam irrigated by, Nāṭṭār was granted, half to the deity at Agasīśvaram (Kanyakumari Dt.) and another half to a māṭha named after the queen, (Kanyākumari inscriptions Vol. I, Publication of the TN Dept. of Epigraphy, 1968 - 5, 10, and 11.
17. E.I. XXIII - D at p. 288.
18. Ibid 'C'
19. Ibid 'A'
20. ARE 68, 70-1927
21. ARE 358 1959-60
22. E.I, VIII pp 317 ff.
23. Madras Museum plates of 17th year of Neduñjaḍaiyan.
24. EI XXIII pp 285 - 287. This will yield 1800 nāḷi or 20 kalams per year. The ruling paddy interest could be 1 kaḷañju=2 kalam An Īlakkāśu appears to be equal to one Kaḷañju or Paḷaṅkāsu at this point of time. From the equivalance of the interest rate the Kāśu could be construed to be Paḷaṅkāsu - See infra The Tiruccendūr inscription.
25. SII XIV E.I. IX p. 84 ff.
26. 1 Kalam = 15 Kuruṇi or 90 nāḷis.
27. Kāyam is used in the sense of condiments only and not asofoetida in Tiruccendur inscription. There were five varieties, pepper, turmeric, cumming seed, mustard, and coriander seeds.
28. SII XIV 16A EI XXI 101 ff.
29. EI XXI PP. 114-115.
* This rate was also prevalent in Cōḷa times in Pudukkōṭṭai tract.
30. The text of the inscription in both E.I. & SII Vols gives the word as Oviyal (1.24). The correct reading should be 'oliyal' to mean cloth.

30-A. E.I. Vol. XXI p. 105-10 Kāṇam = 1 Kāśu.
31. SII XIV-13 Ambāsamudram.
32. A History of South India - KAN Sastri p. 32
33. ARE 255/1977-78 Kalveṭṭu II p. 39
34. SII XIV 43.
35. SII XIV 44
36. ARE 1929-30 Para 2 Part II.
37. This village is near Karivalamvandanallūr in Saṅkarankōil Taluk.
38. 285 / 1965-66
39. E. I. Vol. 28 pp 91-92
40. 330 / 1961-62 E. I. Vol. XXVIII pp 27-A.
41. SII XIV 26.
42. E. I. XXXII 269, 290 / 1955, 56.
43. SII XIV 78 dated 46th Year of Saḍaiyan Māṛan.
44. SII XIV 84 and 85.
45. Ibid 87.
46. ARE 627 / 1926 Also No. 85 Ibid.
47. SII XIV No. 95 E.I XXV pp 39-40

திருநின்றவூர் பக்தவத்சலப் பெருமாள் கோயில் ஆண்டாள் கோயில் வடமேற்கு மூலை மற்றும் கோபுரயில் கிடக்கும் உடைந்த தூண்

1 ஸஹறா உபனெஞெயா
2 முடம் பாண்டு இ
3 ருபத்து மூன்றா
4 வது கூஜ நாயறு
5 முதல் மன்றாடி
6 ன்ற உபனெஞெயோமு
7 ம் எரிவாரியப் பெ
8 ரு மக்களுந் தோட்ட வா
9 ரியப் பெருமக்களும்
10 ஹூட்ப் பெருமக்களும்
11 விபிஷ்டப் பெருமக்களு
12 ம் உள்ளிட்ட ஸஹறா உப
13 னெஞெயோம் இநாள்ளி
14 ல் எம்மூர்ப் பேரம்ப
15 லத்தே . . . . .
16 . . . குறைவறக்கூ
17 டியிருந்து நம்மூர்க்கு
18 றாஜனிந்தாத மடாக
19 ச் செய்த வ்யவஸ்தை
20 யாவது இவ்வாண்டு
21 முதல் மன்றாட்டும்
22 வாரியங்களும் ஏ
23 முதுப் போய்த் ஸ
24 றா உபனெஞ தவறவற
25 வெறறையாந்தே க
26 புகுந்த ஸஹறா உப

27 ஹெைக்கு ஒத்தாரை

28 யே அற்றைக்குமு

29 ன் ஜய்யாட்டை

30 நாள் மன்றாடியு

31 ம் வாரியஞ்செய்

II

32 தறியாதாரையே ம

33 ன்றாட்டும் வாரியமு

34 ம் இடுவதாகவும்

35 வாரியமெழுது

36 மாண்டின் முன் இ

37 ரண்டாண்டு வாரிய

38 ஞ் செய்தார்க்கும் ம

39 ன்றாடுநார்க்கும் உ

40 டப் பிறந்தாருதமப்

41 பனும் மக்களும் ஓ

42 ழியல் எழுதுவ

43 தாகவும் இப்பரி

44 சு எழுதப்பட்டாரை ஊறா

45 ஸபெஹை நடுவே யிருந்தூ கு

46 டிமை இலவாாகவும்

47 இப்பரிசன்றிக் குடிமை

48 என்றார் ஊர்க்குப் பிழை

49 த்தாராகவும் வாரப்பலங்

50 குன்றியே கொள்வராகவு

51 மன்றாடியும் வாரியஞ் செ

52 ய்து விட்டார்கள் புக்க ஸபெஹை

53 யார்க்கு கணக்குக் காட்டி ஒப்பி

54 த்து விடுவாராகவும் இப்பரி
55 சு வ்யவஸ்தை செய்தோம் உ
56 ஊராவ்யவஸ்தையே போம் இ வ்யவ
57 ஸ்தையில் . . . . தாரை நட்
58 ஆர் ப்ராவ . ஸாதிகள்
59 வேண்டு நா[ளை] மஹாஸபைத்
60 து [நிநத்]தி இருபத்தைந் கழ
61 ஞ்சு பொன் தண்டமிடப் பெ
62 றுவாராகவும் இவ்யவஸ்தை
63 செய்து முட்டும் வெட்டு . . .

The recently discovered above inscription in Tiruninṛavūr (Chingleput District) dated 23rd year of Parāntaka I (AD 930) is interesting. It is similar to the Māṛan jaḍaiyan inscription of Mānūr.

The full text is translated below : The Mahāsabhaiyār and the adjudicating (*Manṛādukinṛa*) Sabhaiyār inducted from the Kumbha month (ie. Feb-March), the Committee elders looking after the task, the Bhaṭṭa elders, Visiṣṭa elders - included - Mahasabhaiyār on that day met in the Great Ambalam of their township on that days and with full attendance of young and old, made the following settlement for the welfare of the township.

From that year when constituting the Committees for adjudication and recording it, the Mahāsabhā shall without any deficiencies meet at the Brahmasthāna and choose those agreeable to approved by the Mahāsabha, provided that they shall constitute the Committee for adjudication with Members who had an interval of five years from that day when they have been serving in the Committee or with those who had not so far served in the Committee. The brothers and fathers and sons of those who had served as adjudicating members, 2 years prior to the constitution shall be excluded.

Those who had affirmed this regulation shall have the Branchise to participate in the Mahāsabhā. Those who denied this regulation, shall be deemed to have offended the township and shall forfeit their franchise or shall pay a price of Palam Kunṛi per day (varam palam Kunṛi). Those who had served in the adjudicating Committee shall render accounts to the Sabhaiyār (at the end of their tenure)

In these terms the Mahāsabhā settled. Those who offended this regulation the franchise-holders and the share-holders shall at the court of justice they choose pay a fine of 25 kaḷañju per day.This regulation was engraved in the year 19th of Madurai Koṇḍa Parakēsari Parāntaka Cōḷan.This inscription establishes three points.

(i) The Māṇgāḍu Vāriyam was distinct from the *Mahāsabhā.*

(ii) It was inducted annually and

(iii) The regulation was specially made to exclude incumbents seeking selection continuously or without sufficient interval, specially for the Committee for adjudication.

CHAPTER III

THE GROWTH AND EXPANSION OF PANDYAN TOWNSHIPS (AD 950 to 1350)

An over view:

A significant political change had taken place in the mid tenth century. The Pāṇḍyas of the first Empire had been eclipsed. Parāntaka-I (AD 907-955) and Rājarāja-I (985-1016) had both overpowered the Pāṇḍyas, and firmly established the Cōḷa hegemony over the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom. The former took title of "Madirai Kōṇḍa". Rājarāja-I renamed the whole Kingdom as "Rājarāja-Pāṇḍya nāḍu". The rivers were not spared - Tāmbraparaṇi became Mummuḍi Cōḷappērāṟu, the Gaṭana was named "Rājarājappērāṟu".[1] New Brahmadēya and Nagarams had sprung up all along the river courses renamed or named after the Cōḷa rulers. Earlier nuclei were enlarged[2]. Intense activity in the Townships is evidenced by inscriptions. Though the volume of evidence is the larger from *Brahmadēyas*, the *Ūrs* and the *Nagaras* were also active and their day-to-day transactions are recorded. Trade especially between the hilly western part (originally held by the Cēres) and the eastern parts was active. A nmber of benefactors from the Cōḷa and the Malaimaṇḍala (formerly of the Cēra) Kingdoms were noticed among the individual benefactors of the temples and mathas in the Pāṇḍyan Townships. Movement of merchants, the Vaḷañjiyar (the mercantile militia) the horse traders (Kudiraiccetṭi) from Malaimaṇḍalam, the Brahmins and the Veḷḷāḷa was conspicuous. The Cōḷa Generals were also instrumental in the constructing new temples and forming new townships. The Cōḷa garrisons stood guard over select and strategic temple-locations.

The Cōḷa Emperor, Rājēndra-I appointed his own sons as Viceroys. Partly assuaging the feelings of the subsects of the conquerred territory they assumed the title of Cōḷa-Pāṇḍyas and alternated the title of Māṟavarman and Jaṭāvarman among the successive princes continuing the Pāṇḍyan tradition. The capital of the Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya Viceroys as located at Madurai and the presence of the Viceroy in close proximity and while on tour was availed of by the supplicants to get the grant made, confirmed or enlarged. The Viceroy had virtually exercised the powers of the king, though occasions were not wanting when he implemented the royal command received from the Cōḷa capital. Jāṭ. Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya, for instance, implemented the royal order of Vīra Rājēndra granting additional land bearing the land assessment of *kāśu* 32½, and, paddy 567 *kalams padakku* and 4 *nāḷi*[3].

These grants of the Cōḷa rulers and the Kings are noticeably larger in the Tāmbraparaṇi tract, in the Kuṇḍāṟu-Maṇimuktānadi tract (Kēraḷaśiṅgavaḷanāḍu-

Tiruppattūr taluk) to a lesser extent and in the eastern littoral of the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom fewer. If an impressionistic inference can be drawn, their occurrance is far less in the Kāḷaiyārkōil-Maṅgalam uplands. (Sivagaṅgai Taluk) and in Mudukuḷathūr Taluk and in parts of the Sivakāsi and Virudhunagar tract. A computerised numerial analysis of the occurence of the Cōḷa and the Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya inscriptions collected and still to be collected tract by tract may help confirm this impression. It is not perhaps, an accident that it is these excepted tracts that have contributed a large number of Pāṇḍya chieftains and officers and Maṛamudalis after the Pāṇḍyas reasserted their authority in the early decades of the 13th Century. Partly due to the non-availability of full texts of the inscriptions of the period and the few fragments that have survived, the comparative lack of intensity of the Cōḷa and Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya inscriptions should remain a hypothesis subject to verification and confirmation[4].

This range of distribution of available evidence will be necessarily reflected in the account that follows.

But the evidence is enough to confirm the migration of families from the Cōḷa country down south, the military enterprise that left behind garrisons and generals who fostered local development, the extension of cultivation and augmented resources available for the royalty and the community and the attention paid to extended irrigation.

These positive trends continued with unabated vigour when the Pāṇḍyas reasserted themsleves from the last quarter of the eleventh century and gathered momentum during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Evidence is positive and abundant that new townships and temples were founded and extension of riverine, cannal and tank irrigation was deliberately promoted mere by the community activity, supplemented by specific royal grants. In the earlier nuclei of the temples and older townships, extensions were widely undertaken.

Merchant townships especially in Kānanāḍu (Pudukkōṭṭai) and adjoining tracts in Tiruvāḍānai, Tiruppattūr (Keraḷaśiṅgavaḷanāḍu) Tracts and in Aḷanāḍu (Uttamapālayam and Periyakuḷam taluks) and down south in Tirunelvēli on the eastern and western coast were also active. Towards the close of the period (in the 14th and 15th Centuries). Muslim mosques[5] and Christian churches slowly make their appearance and they were also treated on a par with the Jaina Paḷḷis and the Buddhist shrines and endowments were made for their upkeep.

The activities of the township can be studied in various aspects - their constitution and organisation and their function, their role in irrigation, and in land reclamation, the land-dues and obligations, and the community development and social amenities

and the general trend of prices and wages. These are dealt with in the following chapters, culling data from the inscriptions. Practially all the unpublished inscriptions of the tract have been studied and made full use of.

The Pāṇḍyan Townships under the Cōḻas - Their expansion :

As stated already, the Cōḻa conquest of the Pāṇḍyan tract was followed by the creation of a number of settlements, of a varied character. Some of those had got established from the nuclei of the townships of the early Pāṇḍyan period. Several examples can be cited. Within the conspectus of this treatise, only conspicuous examples are cited.[6] Ilaṅgōykkuḍi on the banks of Tāmbraparaṇi, an early Pāṇḍya township became extensive covering the whole of the Gaṭana - Tāmbraparaṇi basin enveloping several settlements within a radius of 4.83 to 6.44 kilometres radius with the existing Brahmadēśam village at the Centre. This big township was named Rajaraja Cm after Rājarāja I.

Close to the Brahmadēśam village there exists one of the early Cōḻa temples at Tiruvālīśvaram. Its establishment and the settlement that was formed near it are typical of how the tract acquired a higher density of population and occupied holdings after the Cōḻa conquest. This temple was apparently founded by a Cōḻa Chief, Ambalavan Ninṟāḍiyān.

In the 11th year of Rājarāja I (AD 996) Ambalavan Ninṟāḍiyān of Piḍavūr in Coḻa Nadu on the northern bank of the Cauvery acquired 1 *vēli* of land, excluding the temple site and the rocky gravelly lands. He assigned 2 mā of land for the supply of ghee to the lamp and the remaining lands (18 *Mā*) were granted as occupied holdings. The lands so assigned were to yield 309 *kalam, Tūṇi,* 2 *nāḻi* for food offerings. The land so assigned was ½ *vēli, Kāṇi Mundirikai* the levy of paddy was an immutable levy. The rate as contract or lease leavy (*oṭṭu iṟai*) was 30 kalams per *mā* (apparently for 2 crops). The priest was paid 60 *kalams* of paddy per year.

The remaining 7½ *mā, araikkani, mundirikai* were utilised for the temple servants working within, 8 in number, and 4 bachelors. The piper troupe 5 in number were granted 3 *mā mukkāni*, 2 for blowing conch, 2 for blowing kāḷam/horn) 1½ *mā* - each. Provision was made for the cleaning of the temple, and the maintenance of the garden, and for the potter to supply earthern vessels (1 *kāṇi*)[7]

The Mahāsabhā of Rājarāja Cm named the habitat formed around the temple as Ninṟāḍinallūr, after the benefactor. They agreed not to claim any fines levied in case adjudicated or for default from the residents. They also granted the remission of the other levies including free labour that could be demanded from the residents of the hamlets attached. These proceeds were credited to the temple, presumably. The

annual committee of the Mahāsabhā was to provide ploughs to the cultivating tenants who were to pay for the hire of the plough 1 *kāśu* which shall be the contribution for the deity. *(aḍiyarai* - for *aḍi yuṟai* - contribution to the deity)[8]. The annual committee were to supervise the collection of these levies. Apparently the cultivating tenants ploughing the land had to be provided with implements by the annual committee and they had to pay the dues therefor to the temple. Among the residents if there were some who did not render any service in the temple or were the cultivating tenants they shall remain for 4 years free of levies but thereafter they shall be liable to pay cash which shall be expended for the *Viṣu* (April) and *ayana* (in January and July-August) rituals in the temple. If any one ordered anything to the contrary, violating these provisions they shall be liable to pay severally 10 *kaḻañju* gold as fine. The Mahāsabhā also granted the right to take water from the main channel taking off from Ghaṭaṇa.[9]

The temple was placed under the Cōḻa army, Paḍaipiḍitha Pallāyiravar Mūnṟukai Mahāsēnaiyār.[10]

The same Ninṟāḍiyār had purchased lands an year earlier (AD 995) in Tiruppuḍaimarudūr from the Brahmin holders, 3 *mā* in extent, excluding ½ *mā* of Dēvadāna land. The Brahmin vendors four in number, had acquired them by inheritance or by a charitable grant. They were men of small parcels.[11] Those were endowed for the temple in Tiruppuḍaimarudūr.

These are typical instances of how soldiery and the benefactors from the Cōḻa country had colonised the Pāṇḍyan tract, built temples and set up establishments. The big Brahmin township Rārarāja Cm itself should have sprung up not long before AD 995 - 8. The main Śiva temple at Brahmadēsam should have been the focus of the Brahmin settlement, though only fragments of inscriptions of the time of Rājarāja are now found scattered in the Township.

In about AD 1021 the felt want of a Viṣṇu temple in the big Township was fulfilled by Cēra Rājasimha who built the temple of Rājēndra Viṇṇagar to the west of Brahmadēśam.

Tiruvālīśvaram itself was further provided for in the 17th year of Jaṭ. Sundara Cōḻa-Pāṇḍya, son of Rājēndra I. (AD 1037) under instructions from his uncle 5 vēlis of land were purchased from the Mahāsabhā in the hamlet Kākkaḻūr and renamed and constituted into a Dēvadāna called Śiva-Caraṇīśvaranallūr to conduct festivals and for feeding 25 Brahmins and for maintaining a person who read Śivadharma in the temple.[12] The Mahāsabhā solicitously remitted the land levy on the cultivating tenants who were tending a garden "Rājēndra Cōḻan" for this temple.[13]

The lands purchased in Kākkalūr were Brahmadēya in tenure; from the 16th year onwards on the purchase, the 5 *velis* were converted to Veḷḷānvagai tenure and the land levies obligation were fixed at 642 *kalams*, 6 *kuruṇi*, 2 *nāḷi*, *uḷakku* 1, 2¼ *seviḍu* and cash 35¼ and *mukkāṇi*, *kārceviḍu* 5 *kāśu*. The land dues per *vēli* works out at about 128½ *kalams* besides cash at a little over 7 *kāśu* and *Kāṭcierudu* 1 *kāśu*.[14]

There was a considerable expansion of Śērmādēvi also. The Mahāsabhā of Nigarili Cōḷa Cm as it was renamed has sold among others, the 5th 6th field to the north of the channel named Śrī Kurukurunambi, under the first sluice and 4 more plots to the north of a channel under another sluice. The Mahāsabhā received the sale price and the capitalised amount for payment of taxes. The Brahmin signatories have hailed from Anuppūr, Tūppil, Kīranūr and Kōrōvi.[15] If we could generalise from the nativity of these Brahmins the residents in Rājarāja Cm also appear to have hailed from the same nativity.[16]

Across the river Tāmbraparaṇi an extent of 2 vēli in Kallūr in Mēlavēmbu Nāḍu held by private occupants were converted into Śivapādaśēkharanallūr and the land levies were granted to the temple at Śērmādēvi.[17]

The occupants of the land in Kallūr did not consent to the change in the tenure and relinquished the holdings.[18] consequently, the lands had to be arranged to be cultivated by the tenants engaged by the deity's excutives. This did not deter a sunsequent grant in the same location to the deity.[19] Pilgrims even from distant Kashmir had sojourned in Sermadevi and instituted a lamp service.[20]

The Brahmadēya named or renamed Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya Cm had sprung up in Karunīlakkuḍi Nāḍu.[21] A Brahmin lady therefrom Kāśyapan Nārāyaṇan's wife Śōlai sēnda piráṭṭi set up a lamp in Aḷagarkōil.

The new Brahmadēyas that sprung up include Pañcavanmādēvi Cm[22] in a comparatively dry upland area.

The process of founding new grant villages had continued even in the reign of Kulōttunga I. In the 30th year(SIC) of the reign[23] (AD 1100 or 1109) the Mahāsabhā of Rājarājan Cm met in the *Tuṭṭiyakki ambalam* of the township and transacted business to allocate the grant made by the King to the deity, Moymāmbūpoḷil Āḻvar in the eastern hamlet Attāṇinallūr (Attāḷanallūr). The grant was a Dēvadana Iṟaiyili. The grant extent was to be measured and located one *Vēli* in extent in a contiguous area and named as Rājarājasikhamani nallūr (SIC for Rājanārāyaṇanallūr). It was separated and constituted into a new unit and the revenue officials' endorsement and extract of the land register was issued. The grant village was put in possession of the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas of the temple to be utilised for the services and provisions in the temple.

A boundary stone standing that it marked the limits of Rājanārāyaṇa nallūr, the Dēvadāna of the Moymāmbūpoḷil aḷvār exists in the village limits even today.[24]

The Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya inscriptions also refer to the merchants from the Nagara Township making grants. A merchant of Kṣatriyaśikhāmaṇipuram instituted a lamp service in Ambāsamudram for the deity Tirumūlanāthasvami (AD 1026).[25] In AD 1035 a grant of land growing 2 crops of about 1½ *mā* yielding 10 *kalams* in Melkuppāykkuḍi alias Nānādēśi Nallūr was granted by the Mahāsabhā of Rājarāja Cm for the merit of the big guild of the maṇḍalam, Nānādēśi - Tiśaiāyirattu aññūṟṟuvar residing in Rājēndra Cōḷapperunderu.[26]

These afford indices of the growing merchantile settlements in and near Ambasamudram on the highway connecting the erstwhile Cēra Kingdom and the Pāṇḍyan tract.

THE RESURGENT PĀṆḌYAS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTION

This activity gained further impetus when the Pāṇḍyas were on the ascendant and were regaining their independence. This phase could be dated in the latter half of the reign of Kulottuṅnga I, i.e. from about AD 1085 to 1162. Māṟ. Parākrama Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha, Jaṭ. Parāntaka, Māṟ. Śrīvallabha and Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara can be ascribed to this period of the resurgent Pāṇḍyas. A number of inscriptions in Kanyākumari, the Tambraparani belt and more in the Vaigai belt are noticed which bear testimony to the founding of new settlements in these tracts.

These townships of the resurgent Pāṇḍyas could be found dispersed in the riverine ribbons of Nambiyār (in present Radhāpuram Taluk in Tirunelvēli district) and in other areas like the Vaigai ribbons to the west of Madurai. We may notice a few specific instance.

Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha's reign attests the founding or expansion of a number of Brahmadēya and Dēvadāna settlements or townships of a dual character. These date from the very early years in this reign. The inscriptions are spread over the districts of Ramnad, Madurai and Tirunelvēli. The Chieftains of the Nāḍu too evinced keen interest in the promotional activity.

In the third year of Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha Karunīlakkuḍi Nāḍāḷvān in Iruñjō nāḍu had excavated a tank and had constructed a bund and marked it by an inscription.[27] In the fourth year. Adaḷaiyūr Nāḍāḷvān had endowed his share of the land dues and obligation (*Iṟai, Kuḍimai*) in Mēṟ Kaṇṇamaṅgalam to the temple at Kunnakkuḍi[28] and also in Kīḻ Kaṇṇamangalam.[29]

In the same year, the Prince Sundara Pāṇḍya established a township of a dual tenure, Dēvadāna-Brahmadēyam named Śrī Sundara Pāṇḍya Cm and indicated the boundaries of the grant village in Cōḷapuram.[30] Some five years later, several weavers took up residence in the lands belonging to the temple and took up 24 house sites. The immutable levy for occupation was per loom per month 10 paṇam in cash. They were free to set up as many looms as they wished. This was on a temple land, permitted by the temple authorities.[31]

Śivapuri (in Tiruppattūr Taluk) brings out the activity of the merchants settled in Nānādēśipperunderu in Aruviyūr. A merchant Tarunēndu Śēkharan (named after the deity) purchased from a Brahmin of Nṛapasēkhara Cm land under Muḍikoṇḍa Cōḷapērēri in Perumaṭṭiyūr a small parcel of *mukkāṇi kīḻ araikkāl* and reclaimed it and named the field after himself. He had endowed it to the deity. In addition he set up a garden and paid the land price and deposit for defraying taxes due on the lands to the Sabhā of the Brahmadēya. This was in the 6th year.[32]

Another grant made two years later was by a Veḷḷāḷa who purchased the land from the Veḷḷāḷas of Pāṇḍaṅguḍi in Surabhi Nāḍu.[33] A Vēḷān from Pāṇḍaṅguḍi also purchased and endowed a land for kitchen services.[34]

In the 15th year, a merchant of the Maṇigrāmam in Koḍumbāḷūr, Madalai Kūttan alias Śivakaruṇālayan purchased a land from the Madhyastha of the township and endowed it for offering pudding (piṭṭamudu) to the Mahādēva deity in the Brahmin township.[35]

Aruviyūr, the adjoining Nagara settlement had the name Dēsiuyyavanda paṭṭinam[36] another merchant therefrom purchased one-third of the tank and ayacut in the western hamlet paying the price and tax deposit and endowed it to the temple.[37]

There was also a maṭha in Śivapuri which denoted the temple-site and its adjuncts. The Maṭha was endowed with lands also under the tanks Perumaṭṭiyūr by a merchant from Dēśiuyyavandapaṭṭaṇam. He also endowed a house-site on the northern row of the street by the side of the temple and also garden land for supplying vegetables and leaves to the maṭha.[38]

The Chieftain Niṣadarājan gave away from his *Jīvitam* the *antarāyam* and *Kaḍamai* from 2 *mā* of land to the deity.[39] The temple itself purchased some lands from the Brahmin residents from out of a deposit made by a Brahmin lady.[40]

In the 18th regnal year a Brahmadēya called Śeyyamaṅgalam alias Ambalattāḍi Cm was instituted and the lands apportioned among 20 Brahmins and the charity was to be protected by the Āṇḍār and the Panmāhēśvaras of the Tarunēndu Śēkhara temple

in Nṛupaśēkhara Cm. The Brahmins were to pay to the temple per year 1 dramam per mā. The Charitable grant was made Kaṇḍan Suṇḍan Dvārāpati vēḷān in the name of his father.[41]

The King's grants are also noticed in Tiruppattūr and Tirukōṣṭiyūr. To the Tiruppattūr deity he granted the land dues *Mādai* 17½, 1 *mā* from Maṇṇanimaṅgalam alias Mēltirumaṅgalam and 25¼, 3 *mā* Kīḻmuḷḷivayal as Dēvadāna Iṟaiyili.[42]

In the 17th year, a merchant of Aruvīyūr alias Dēśiuyyavandapaṭṭinam deposited 11 *Kaḻañju*, 6 *mañjāḍi* in the temple treasury against which supply was to be made per day at 2 *kalams* of paddy and supply of cloth 1 *kāśu*, persumably to the garden tenderer who had to supply flowers.[43]

The queen Ulagamuḻudaiyār herself caused the kitchen (attached to the temple) to be constructed.[44]

The adjoining township of Tirukkoṣṭiyūr was also held in veneration by the Nāṭṭār of Cōḻapāṇḍya Vaḷanāḍu who agreed to collect as subscription from the holders of land together with the land dues 100 paṇams per year for two lamps instituted for merit of the Nāḍu.[45]

The King ordered that a 9 days festival for the deity be celebrated in the month of Arpasi, the holy bath to synchronise with his natal star of Citrai.

The *Kārāṇmai* rights in two villages, Puṟkuḻi and Nāṭṭārmaṅgalam were purchased from the Nāṭṭār with the temple funds and the land dues were endowed for conducting the festival by a royal grant. Two Brahmin residents of the Brahmadēya ordered the royal grant to be engraved.[46]

The other grants of the reign of Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha and his predecessors are found in a bunch in Kōil Kuruvitturai. It brings out the extension of cultivation by increase in irrigation facilities.[47]

The adjoining Nagara Township of Vikramaṅgalam also received a grant of land-dues from Sekkālai renamed as Śrīvallavanallūr for the provisions needed for the deity of the Nagara.[48]

An important inscription from Tenkarai (Tirumaṅgalam taluk) refers to the Ayyapoḻil mercantile community and appears to record certain regulations of Iḍaṅgai and Valaṅgai social classes. But the inscription is much damaged.[49]

The inscriptions of the period are also found in the Tāmbraparaṇi estuary, at Āttūr, Śēndamaṅgalam and Kattārimaṅgalam.

In the 6th year of the reign Jat. Śrīvallabha granted the land-dues from Tiruccirrambaladēvanallūr in Korkai Nādu which is said to have been separated from Kudanādu. The grantee deity Somanāthadēva of Ārrūr was situated in Kuda nādu.[50]

Mobility of the residents in Pāndinādu is brought out by another record of this reign dated in the 11th year. A lady, Āndamai Śāni was married to Kurukkai Sārangapāni Tirunīlakantan a resident in the 2nd street named Mummudi Cōla Cēri - Cōla names of the habitat still lingered - in Rājarāja Cm in Mulli Nādu which is described as a "Taniyūr" - a revenue unit by itself. She provided for several lamps and for supplying milk and rice for the pious mendicants so that her thrist (after death) might be quenched (*Tanukku Tāgam keda*). These were accepted by the Śivabrāhmanās of the Āttūr temple and the sheep were entrusted to the shepherds attached to the temple.[51]

Five years later, they ordered the grant of lands as the service holding of one Paraśivan Śāntikūttan Sōman, a dancer for performing Śāntikūttu to be enjoyed by him and his descendants, presumably so long as the services continued to be rendered[52]

Śēndamangalam was a village attached to Āttūr. In the 12th year of Jāt. Śrīvallabha valānādu rendered tax free 2½ *vēli* of land purchased from various Brahmin residents and endowed to Kailāsamudaiyār in the village. The Mahāsabhā met on this occasion in a mandapa in the western temple of Tirunārāyana vinnagar Ālvār in Ārrūr Śēndamangalam. The price was paid by Tiruvayōdhi ..... (Nārāyanan Tiruvikraman ......[53]

The same donor figures in another transaction of land purchased and endowed to the same deity but the details are lost.[54]

The King was supplicated by the temple executives and Srimahēśvara Kankāni of the Vīrapāndīśvaram Udaiyār in Kattānimangalam in Amitagunavalanādu for a dēvadāna as that temple had no land endowments. In the 19th year, 500th day the King, Jāt. Śrīvallabha while being seated at his palace Madurai ordered that the *Iraiyili* grant to Mānavīravinnagar ālvār of Vairāgam alias Mānavīranallūr in Mānavīra Valanādu in that village (of Kattānimangalam) be transferred to the Vīrapāndiśvaramudaiyār. This was granted at the request of the prince (Nampillai) Sundara Pāndyan. The content of the grant was land dues from the village.[55]

It should not be understood that this was a capricious transfer. The lands were located in Kattānimangalam and as such could be beneficially enjoyed by the deity located in the village. The Visnu temple was located in the adjoining *Nādu* and could have been either already adequately provided for or granted lands in the same nādu and location in exchange grants made by jat. Srivallabha are also noticed in the command area of *Nāttār* (in Nānguneri Taluk) (identical with Nambiyār). Perumpalanju in that river - command had the temples dedicated to Varagunīśvaramudaiyār, Tirunāgēśvaramudaiyār

and Puravarīśvaramuḍaiyār. A request for land grants was preferred by one Māṇābharaṇamaṅgalattu Ayyar (who might have been a minister or a person who had influence with the King). The King ordered that the Revenue Officers issue an uḷvari (counterpart of the title deed from revenue accounts) for 1 vēli granted in the village.[56]

A person perhaps identical with this Māṇābharaṇamaṅgalattu ayyar or his discendant might be Māṇābharaṇanambi who occurs in Kōḍānūr inscription.[57]

An undated record from Daḷapatisamudram gives interesting details of several grants made to the deity Mahādēva of Mayilāḍupāṟai Parākramapāṇḍya Cm. The grant was made from Madurai.[58] The grant comprised the following :-

(i)	3 vēli = 60 mā - wet 2 vēli and 6 mā = 46 mā dry	in the village of Parākramapāṇḍya Cm.
(ii)	Under the Tirukkuṟuṅguḍi Tank Vēli ½ + 4 mā - Tankfed.	
(iii)	Under Munnūṟṟuvamaṅgalam Tank : 1¼ = 1 mā and mākāṇi	

Total 146, 7 Mākkāṇi = vēli 7, 6 mākkāṇi The boundaries of the grant village were shown by several officers :

Kaṇkāṇi Ārūr Śaḍaiyan Nambinārāyaṇan

"Nam Tirumun aḍippār" (?) Kaṇḍan Vaḍugan Kuñjaramallan, Akapparivāram Aṟumbūr Āccan

Superintending Servant - Pāppān Bhagavan of Sundara Cōḷa Cm a Brahmadēya in Nāñjilnāḍu, (Sucīndram)

Aḍigaḷ Nārāyaṇan Dēvadēvēśan of Rājakkaḷmaṅgalam

Nāṭṭukkaṇakku Kaṇṇan Śūṟṟi

The boundaries were shown Cōḷan Tirundan,

Eastern boundary	-	Naralōkanādhanallūr Āccan piḍāran
Southern boundary	-	Alliyūr Kūttan Cōḷan
Western hamlet	-	The Sabhā accounts of Parākramapāṇḍya Cm. Tiruvaraṅgavēḷān
Northern hamlet	-	Tirukkuṟuṅguḍi Śendan Cōḷan

This document brings out the involvement of the residents of the villages surrounding the grant-village, who can vouch for the location of the lands. It conforms to the stipulation in Kātyāyana Smrti Samhita of Sāmantās showing the boundaries as they could be credited with the personal knowledge of the location of the grant-lands.

Vijayanārāyana Cm was a populous and ancient Brahmadēya in the same command of Nāṭṭār. A record of the 10th year of Jat. Śrīvallabha refers to the lands endowed in the 31st year of Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa dēvar "who took Kollam". This is obviously a reference to the Cōḷa emperor Kulōttuṅga I (AD 1070-1122) and more precisely to a grant of the AD 1101 when his hold over the Pāṇḍyan territory was still in tact. Jāṭ. Śrīvallabha has been assigned the period AD 1090 to AD 1116 and the tenth year should refer to 1100-1101, about the same time. The lands were endowed to Śrī Saṭagōpavinnagar āḷvar, Śrī Varaguṇa Vinnagar āḷvar, and Śrī Rāghava Cakravarti - three deities installed in Vijayanārāyaṇam. The lands were in the I taram and II taram. A reference is made to Śaṅkaran Vāsudēvan of Turuttimaṅgalam, the chieftain (Mudalitaram, śeykinṛa) in the Brahmadēya. He together with the Sabhaiyār, ordered the recording of the grants according to the royal command conveyed through a letter.[59]

Some two years later, the same individual Nambi Śaṅkaran Vāsudēvan, who was the chieftain of the village on behalf of Ravi Kōdaivarman the ruler of Vēnāḍu provided for the proper repairs of the tank bund and the supply channel which had breached. The Mahāsabhā gratefully named the bund after the benefactor. This occurred in the 12th year (AD 1112).[60]

Five years later, the King himself camped in this ancient township - in the palace, and on the request of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas of Śrī Varaguṇa Vinnagar āḷvār and Śrī Saṭagōpa vinngar āḷvār ganted *Antarāyam* and other land revenue to the temple for supply of clothings. Here again what was granted was the land-dues share on lands falling to the share of the deity and those acquired from the deity's own resources. The lands were granted in the top class, 2nd and 3rd. But the occupancy rights in these lands held by the residents of the village were not interefered with.[61]

Grants to the Agastīśvaram temple and a maṭha made during the reign of Jāṭ. Śrīvallabha refer to the grant village Munnūṛruva mangalam in the Nāṭṭāṛṛūppokku. This could be located in the present Nāngunēri Taluk.[62]

We may finally notice some of the *Ūrārs* who were active as seen from the contemporaneous records. These records are dated in the reign of Kulōttuṅga I. In the 22nd year (AD 1091-1092) the Ūrār of Tirukkunṛakkuḍi alias Tirupugalūr collectively granted 10 mā of land.[63]

A second record of the 40th year refers to several *Ūrārs* - Iḍaikkuḍi alias Ravikulamāṇikka Nallūr. Śeṅgaṇi Pakanda Kāyankuḍi, Veḷuvūr, Kāñjiraṅguḍi, Vēṭṭanguḍi, Ālangāḍu Śiṟukuḍi, Śiṟuvayal, Tāyāṅguḍi among others all in Tēnār command in Rājēndra Cōḷa Vaḷanāḍu. The inscription is incomplete.[64] These should be located in Tiruppattūr taluk.

Besides grants were made also by the Chieftain Adaḷaiyūr nāḍāḷvān out of his *jīvitam* lands.[65] The establishment of his *jīvitam* holdings can be tracted even to the period of the Cōḷa supremacy. These villages were Tirukkunṟakkuḍi, Veḷuvūr, Paḍaikkāṇi, Vēlaṅguḍi, Kāñjiraṅguḍi Sāli, Pādiṟikkuḍi, Pārīsvaramaṅgalam, Mēṟkaṇṇamaṅgalam. It will be noticed some of the *Ūrs* listed above are comprised in the Jīvitam holding of Adaḷaiyūrnāḍāḷvān who had enjoyed the same assignment of a portion of the land dues from these agricultural townships.

The evidence can be summed up by drawing the inferences below:

The Pāṇḍyan resurgence had been followed by a number of grants to charitable institutions and the temple. Increased services instituted would have given the fillip to the growing needs and demand for agricultural products and services. These would have led to extension of cultivation and where feasible, also by creation or extension of irrigation facilities. These activites of the mercantile townships were noteworthy. The spread of the Pāṇḍyan authority by the beginning of the 12th century over the entire tract under study is fully borne out.

These trends continued with vigour during the reign of the Pāṇḍya rulers. Jāṭ. Kulaśēkhara (AD 1190 to 1217) and his successors. Many of them were able warriors and had several conquests to their credit, like Māṟ. Sundara I (AD 1216-1239) Jāṭ. Sundara I and Jat. Vīra Pāṇḍya (AD 1253-1274) The campaigns had also thrown up several chieftain and commanders from various locations who attested the grant-deeds or themselves made grants to institutions or for services old and new.

This great activity noticed took several forms. Additional services were instituted. New shrines were added even in the existing temples and townships. Land grants carved out of the settlements already made by purchase or cancellation of earlier grants (particularly of the service tenure-*jīvitam*) or new settlements in favourable locations were made. These features were noticed throughout the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom. Also the complexity of land tenures overlapping claims to ashare of the produce by a multiplicity of beneficiaries were noticeable.

Detailed case studies of the new Brahmadēya townships formed during the period are presented elsewhere.[66] The feasible method adopted here is to recount some characteristic developments and features and specific aspects.

Jat. Kulaśēkhara I (AD 1190 to 1217) was greatly facilitated in reasserting the Pāṇḍyan authority by the matrimonal alliance he had struck with the Cēras. His queen was a Cēra Princess and the Pāṇḍyan ruler had promised a tax-free gift for a service in the name of his brother-in-law (maccunanār) Kōdai Ravivarman at Sērmadēvi.[67] This Cera prince may be identical with Kōdai Ravivarman whose agent figures in a Vijayanārāyaṇam inscription as a benefactor who restored the breached tank bunds.[68] Jat. Kulaśēkhara seated in Kūpakarāyanallūr in Tenkarai Nādu (on the south bank of Tāmbraparaṇi) in his 10th year made this endowment to Dvārāpati Āḷvār (Kṛṣṇa temple) and lands were granted in the eastern hamlet of Śēravan mādēvi Cm. It may be noticed that this big Brahmadēya was itself named after a Queen (from) the Cēra family. A rockcut Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscription in Paccārkuḷam at Kīḻāmbūr (close to Ambāsamudram) referred to a "Vēṇāṭṭuvar Kōn Iravi Varman".[69]

Trade, social and religious contacts should have been fostered between the west coast and the eastern plains. A shrine for Kulaśēkhara āḻvar (the double entendre with the ruling Pāṇḍya was intended) was set up in the expanded temple at Rājēndra Viṇṇagar.[70] The shrine was set up by a native of Malaimaṇḍalam, Mullaippaḷḷi Vāsudēvan and a disciple of Śeṇḍalaṅgāramahāmuni, a Vaiṣṇavite asectic. This asectic had also interested himself in a temple and settlement at kōḍānūr alias Kulaśēkhara Cm in Mēlavēmbunāḍu.[71]

These social contacts had led to a number of Malayāḷa Brāhmaṇas who had acquired occupancy holdings in different locations in the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom. These migrants were noticed in several places, like Madurai[72] Aḷagarkōil[73] uplands, Tiruppāccētti[74] distant Muḍikarai[75] in Kaḷaiyārkōil uplands, Tirumālugandānkōṭṭai[76] in Mudukuḷattūr taluk and Radhapuram, Tirukkuṟungudi and Taruvai in Tirunelvēli district. The migration from Malaimaṇḍalam to the adjoining plants in Nānguṇēri taluk and to Taruvai was only to be expected and natural. This magration could be dated in the 12th and 13th centuries.

A number of Agrahāras and Dēvadāna grants were made and these are considered in detail in examining the tenures and land levies and obligations. But a very large grant of a Brahmadēya by Jat. Kulaśēkhara I deserves notice. This transactions is detailed in the Tiruppūvaṇam Copper plates.

The procedure for constituting the big Agrahāra, named after Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara I (Rājagambhīra Cm) is interesting.[77] It throws light on the composition of a village, and the contents of the grant. It reveals the inter-tenurial obligations inherent such composition. The grant-township was a cluster of villages or part thereof on the South and North bank of Vaigai in the Southern most part of Sivagaṅgai Taluk and the Western and Southern part of Mānāmadurai Taluk in Rāmanāthapuram district. It had

a spread over five earlier Nādūs. Kīranūr, Panangaḷūr Tīyandaikkuḍi, Mēṟkuḍi and Puṟapparaḷai Nāḍu. These were constituted into one big village Rājagambhīra Cm and it was big enough to be constituted into a Vaḷanāḍu as well bearing the same name. The boundaries were determined by a circumambulation by a female elephant. It had comprised 140 old villages.

Eleven persons were appointed to superintend the settlement of the boundaries. The boundaries commenced from the north-eastern corner and ended with the same spot. The actual demarcation was done by the local people.

This was in pursuance of the King's order from Madurai to the effect that from the 24th year, the big Brahmadeya be formed and granted to 1080 Brahmins who were well-versed in the Vēdas and Śāstras, each to be given one share. The remaining 120 shares (in all 1200) were set apart for the temple and the service holders in the temple.

The content of the grant is clear. The grant had excluded the old Dēvadāna, Paḷḷiccandam and lands already held in occupancy (*Kārāṇmaiyāna nilam*). Hence it protected the subsisting rights of the temple grants and grants to Jaina shrine and also occupancy holders who should have been large in number. The new inductors could only cultivate or cause to be cultivated the unoccuppied lands and / or also receive the lands dues hitherto payable to the King. There was one exception. The grant extent had included three villages endowed as Dēvadāna already to the temple at Tiruppūvaṇam - viz. Vāgaikkuḍi, Muttūranaroṭṭai, Śiṟukiḷāṅgāṭṭur. How this prior claim and the dues to the temple were secured form the subject matter of the "Tiruppūvaṇam Supplementary plates'.'[78] This record was addressed to the Sabhaiyār of Rājagambhīra Cm. The three villages were inspected at the time of standing crops and Kaḍamai (land due) was fixed on that basis and realised by the temple. This was discontinued and from the 11th year, the land dues were fixed in cash as below

Vagaikkuḍi	..	Kāśu	10	
Muttūranaroṭṭai	..	Kāśu	10	
Śiṟukiḷāṅgāṭṭūr	..	Kāśu	5	
			25	Kāśu per year

This was fixed as the lease (*oṭṭu*) amount, but it was to be paid half in cash, i.e. 12½ kāśu and in paddy, the other half.

Mār. Sundara Pandya I had ordered it on the request of his brother-in-law (Maccunnanār) Aḷagapperumāḷ (AD 1226). On this order of the King, the deity endorsed this obligation. It was further clarified that the lease amount shall be the immutable levy of obligation (vāḍākkaḍan). The cash and the paddy were to be delivered at the door of the temple kitchen and receipt obtained. Three Bhaṭṭas (Śivabrāhmaṇās) and one of the bachelor-attendants and the Temple Treasury Accountant signed the deed.

A second instance was the whole village of Miḷaganūr. This was not a Brahmadēya but was held by occupants who cultivated and paid the full land demand. Hence in exchange thereof, a new village was constitued. This new unit comprised-Kuvaḷaivēli, Pudukkuḷam, Māṛankīrti, Kāvidinallūr, Kaḍambamaṅgalam, Sattiyār-ēmbal, in Accankāṭṭiṛukkai and that part of the Arayakuḷam in Kañai-irukkai, but (carefully) excluding the one half of that village[79] held by Mandarai-Rāman alias Pallavaraiyar *(Mandarai Rāman āna Pallavaraiyar Kāṇiyāna Śempādi nīkki-nīkkiyuḷḷa nilamum āga).* The other occupancy tenures were cancelled and this grant extent was constituted into one *Nāḍu*, one *Ūr*, one *Puravu* and renamed Accankāṭṭiṛukkai-Midaganūr alias Rājendraśiṅganallūr and recorded as such in the revenue records.

This part of the document brings out that when the agricultural holdings of fully assessed lands were included in the Brahmadēya care was taken to grant and constitute lands of the same tenure in exchange and it was constituted into a separate *Ūr*.

Similar constitutions of *Brahmadēyas, Nagarās and Ūr* could be easily multiplied. The first category were the largest recorded and the second and the third lesser and lesser in that order as far as epigraphic evidence is available. But the last category should be easily the most numerous.

A few Śinnamanūr records bring out the constituents of the Nagarattār.[80] They belong to 18 Viṣayattār of 4 Nagarās and 18 Mandalam and the *seṭṭis* of Śōnāḍu Danasaṭṭs who made a grant of a share of the proceeds of levies on articless of merchandise (Paṭṭaṇappagudi). Another category-Kīḻavaṭṭai Padineṇviṣayattār and their agents (Tarakar) is mentioned. The specific identity of every one of the constituents is not clear.[81]

In the 9th year of Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara (AD 1199) a Brahmadēya for 54 Brahmins was formed at the request of Kāliṅgarāyar and lands of Veḷḷānvagai Tenure were converted into Brahmadēya Tenure.[82] A 11th year record of a ruler (unnamed) constituted Ānaiyūr (Tennavan Śiṛṛūr) as one township and revenue village and rendered Dēvadāna Iṛayili. In this case the occupants remained unaffected but the land dues were endowed to the temple at Tiruttaṅgal.[83]

In the same reign the village of Tiruppāccōṟṟi Cm had become depopulated. In the 19th year (1209 AD) forty families of Brahmins were made to settle in the villages and shares assigned.[85] They were perhaps from Malayāḷa Brahmins and the Viṣṇu temple had the deity Malaimaṇḍalattu Viṉṉagar āḻvar. Later in the 4th year of Jaṭ. Vikrama's reign Kannada Brahmins were also referred to as settlers and one Sandi Bhaṭṭan Viṭṭaṇan was granted 5 *mā* of land tax free.[85]

Kannaḍiga Brahmins might have moved to the Vaigai and Tāmbraparaṇi basins following the Hoysāḷa intervention during the time of Māṟ. Sundara Pāṇḍya I and II A whole Brahmadēya was constituted on the banks of Tāmbraparaṇi and named Pōśaḷa Vīra Sōmidēva Cm after Hoysāḷa Sōmēśvara who was claimed to be the māmiḍi (uncle or father-in-law) of Māṟ. Sundara II.[86]

In the 8th year of that ruler (AD 1246-7) a new grant village Iravi Varma Cm [87] named after his grandfather (A Vēṇāḍu Chieftain) was formed and share granted for 48 Bhattas and 12 for the Brahmins doing adyayana service in the Tirunelvēli temple besides 5 shares for temples named below :-

Viṣṇu Temple, Śrīrāmaviṇṇagar	..	2
Pāṇḍimādēvisvaramuḍaiyār	..	2
Toṇḍaimān Viṇṇagar aḻvār of the contonment - township, Maṇaṟpaḍaivīḍu	..	1
		5

Other instances of Brahmadāyās or other townships constituted may be listed :

Grant of 222 shares[88] to 216 Brahmins in Kulaśēkhara Cm from lands purchased in 5 specified villages and separated into a tax free unit.	Tri Kōnērinmaikoṇḍan 35 year (Mār. Kulaśēkhara 35th year (AD 1303)
For 109 Brahmins and for services for reading Mahabhāratam, Rāmāyaṇam, Jyōtiṣa and Vaidyā	N A
"Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya Cm"[89]	
Creation of an agrahara from the self-cultivated lands of the King to be formed into 20 shares and 4 more at 2 each for Śiva and Viṣṇu temple.[90]	Kōnērinmaikōṇḍān
Formation of an agrahara with a canal excavated for a tank.[91]	Mār. Vikrama 13 AD 1296
A number of villages and tanks in Vaḍaparappunāḍu constituted into Cēranārāyaṅapuram - as a Nagara - into one township and revenue unit.[92]	Kōnērinmaikōṇḍān 13 + 73
Sāmantanārāyana Cm.[93] (32 shares)	

We have a number of grants or regrants during the reigns of Mār. Sundara I, Jat. Sundara and Vīra and Mār. Kulaśēkhara. Typical instances have been noticed above but the evidence is only repetitive. The detailed history of a few Brahmadeya have been given in my collected papers.[94]

The constituted Brahmadeyas had functioned through its primary body of the Sabhā and the annual Committees, Vāriyam, especially for tank supervision and distribution of water.[95] (Ēri vāriyam)

Its executive officers had comprised the Madhyastha (Registrar) of the decisions and authorised attestor and the accountant (Karaṇattān). The Nagara and the *Ūr* had

also their own accountants. Besides pluralistic organisations like the temple, the Panmāhēvaras, Sri Vaiṣṇavas and the Āṇḍars had their own executives.

The Township organisation had two important segments of executives - Paṇṇai śeyvār and Vēli śeyvār. These were the executives through whom the Township Organisations had supervised the agricultural operations and the formation of fields and their boundaries. Their services were invariably invoked in making the land transactions together with the Mahasabha. In AD 1191-92 Tirunīlakaṇṭan alias Toṇḍaimān had gifted some lands, gardens and drylands 1 *mā mundirigai* in extent. These were made over to the Mahāsabhā or Arikēsarinallūr (in Aḷanāḍu) and the Paṇṇai sēyvār and Vēliśeyvar.[96] The terms should refer to those in charge of the supervision of the cultivated lands and collection of dues for and on behalf of the Mahāsabhā and the surveyors and keepers of the boundary and field accounts (Vēliśeyvār). They also joined the Mahāsabhā in AD 1270-71 in selling the lands to the deity or to donors who wished to endow the lands.[97]

In a third transaction in AD 1293-94 these two categories - Paṇṇai śeyvār and Vēliśeyvār join the Mahāsabhā in granting lands in exchange for lands elsewhere. These were Tūṇi land - but as per *oḻugu* account 18 *Mā.* and the *dēvadāna* land of Durgai 2 *Mā* and 1 *Mā* of land of Tirumaḍai vilāgam - in all 21 *Mā.* These were taken to the common holding of the Township and registry changed in the oḻugu accounts (*Ūr Paṟṟāka oḻugil Māṭṭerindu).* In exchange the *Mahāsabhā* granted 2 *Mā* under the tank.[98]

From the signatories of the two documents, they are all Brahmins. This gives room for the inference that the constituents of the Mahāsabhā and the Paṇṇai śeyvār and the vēli śeyvār in these cases were the same and they formed part of the landed occupants who supervised the cultivation and maintained the oḻugu (land register) and the Survey accounts respectively.

Sometimes, they are clubbed together as Paṇṇai Vēli seyvār.[99] That they were the executives of and accountable to the Mahāsabhā is clear from the qualifying term "Sabhaikku-Samainda". There is also an executive of the Sabhā separately figuring in that record. (Sabhā śrīkāryam seykinṟa)[100]

An inscription from Śāligrāmam (Māṟ. Sundara I, 9th year, AD 1225) clearly brings out the functions of the functions of the Paṇṇai śeyvār and vēli śeyvār. The Sabhaiyār had undertaken to bear the land dues on certain endowed lands. The executives Paṇṇai śeyvār and vēli śeyvār undertake not to inspection the crop yield for purposes of assessing the levy on the lands. When the King's tax officials supervise the land dues to be collected, they shall bear and deliver the levy due on the exempted lands from the common resources of the Township.[101]

The Paṇṇai, vēli seyvār of Kulaśēkhara Cm (Tirunelvēli) delimit the grant made to the temple at Tirunelvēli and specify the boundaries of lands by Anavaradadāna Cm. They used a 18 feet pole with 196 *kuḻi* = (16x16) to make one *mā* and lands were located under every sluice and block and the shares allocated (*Karai-ittukkoṇḍu*).[102]

On the lands so formed into shares, the Brahmin occupants had to pay an immutable levy (*Vāḍākkaḍan*). There were 2 pangus each for Vāḻavalla-Pāṇḍīśvaramudaiyanāyanār and to Vāḻavallapāṇḍya-Viṇṇagar nāyanār and 24 shares for the Bhaṭṭas. These 24 shareholders were to pay the land dues on the lands to the temple. This was in the 8th year of Mār. Kulaśēkhara.

The Paṇṇai śēyvār might be having the following functions within the township, arranging for the cultivations of the lands reverting to the township or held in common (*Sabhai podu*), arranging for the cultivation of lands that had got transferred or endowed to institutions located outside the Township, besides supervising the lease-holdings and fixed rentals that should accrue.Also they would have kept the cultivation accounts of the tax-paying lands to discharge the collective oblications of the Township for the payment of *Kaḍamai* to the King's men. They had to inspect the crops in lands cultivated to assess yield on the basis of which the landlevies were collectable.

The vēli śeyvār might be the executives fixing the outher boundaries of the Township and also the boundaries of the lands of tenurial integrity of the Dēvadāna, Dharmādāya. They had also to allocated shares of lands sold or purchase or endowed among lands not divided by metes and bounds and fix individual occupancy of lands with multiple occupancies.

These were the functions of the internal land organisation which was an open field system. The puravu or cultivable occupancy holdings had to be secured by prickly bear and mudwalls to prevant stray cattle. The community had to step in when individuals were remiss in discharging their obligations. These executives were then the commnity's watchdogs and were accountable to them.

There were other executives in the next higher territorial division - the Nāḍu. We notice two such categories *Nāḍu Kūṟuśeyginṟār* and "*Nāḍu Vagai Śeyginṟār*."[103] The functions of these executives can be easily discerned. The *Nāḍu Kūṟu Śeyginṟār perumakkaḷ*" were the officers of the Nāḍu who fixed the territorial boundaries of the townships within the *Nāḍu*. Their main concern was to ensure the tenuvial integrity of the lands, preserving the share of every one of the multiple interests. The *Nadu* 'Vagai Śeyginṟār should refer to the settlement of the various tenures, the *Ūr*, *Nagara*, *Dēvadāna*, and *Brahamadēya*, *jīvitam* and of the respective shares and include the transactions of sale exchange of lands among the different tenures and their conversion. Of course they had the collective obligation of collecting the land dues and enforcing

the distributed obligations (*Nāṭṭuviniyōgam*) which were case on the occupants or the groups of occupants. They sometimes took on the responsibility of overseeing the obligations due to the temples. They also sign on behalf of the nāḍu, the endorsements of royal orders.[104]

From the transactions noticed above it is apparent that there were frequent changes in tenures of lands and of townships, not all of them, of lands divided by metes and bounds. An Oḻugu account had to be kept of the content of lands according to grants or endorsements made. Sale and purchases of lands were also common. These transactions sometimes covered only a portion of the land produce. Hence, multiplicity of interests converged on the same land. These included the institution or the individuals entitled to receive the King's revenue, in whole or in part (if kadamai and antarāyam alone was granted) the lands, the yield from which was wholly enjoyed by the beneficiaries, the land with fixed immutable levies, and the lands from which annual divisible share according to the ascertained yield inspected on fields in harvest were collectable.

A second segment could be the transfer of the subsidiary lands dues payable to a *jīvitam* holders or transferred by him to a beneficiary.

A third segment were the *Karaṇmai* - i.e. the proceeds of occupancy. These were also sometimes shared by the community of shareholders and the temple or other institutions.

Finally, the cultivators who held the land under the occupants had to be reckoned with and they were accountable for rendering the *Kuḍimai*, or the services of various kinds - like maintaining bunds and channels and silt-clearance, and public utilities, feeding the King's servants or those of the Nāḍu or the *Ūr* who came on functional errands, besides rendering services to the temple and collecting the land in kind, and carting and delivering them at collections - depots or granaries.

The functional organisation of the *Ūr*, and the *Nāḍu* were effective but limited the executive were drawn from among the constituents and accountable to the collective body of the occupancy holders within.

One more category of Townships may distinguished. They are the *jīvitam* (Maintenance grant) for the chieftans who had to muster soldiery in times of war and could manage or administer the cluster of villages granted on this tenure to them. They were usually hereditary. More of this tenure is noticed in the following chapter on "Land Tenures".

A second category of Townships were those with occupancy holdings of the soldier. There are a number of such townships located on the Western border of the Pāṇḍyan

territory abutting the western ghats. Some were also in the interior in the Tāmraparaṇi Belt, or in the Vaigai Belt. As the volume of evidence gathered is considerable they are considered in aseparate chapter that follows.

This chapter may be concluded with a notice of the detailed procedure adopted for the grant of lands or land dues of the King. The procedure was identical both in Pāṇḍyan times and during the Cōḷa rule. But there are several interesting details which the inscriptions bring out. Annexure I to this Chapter is an attempt to describe the details and forms of the procedure adopted and also to interpret and distinguish the varied terms that occur in the epigraphy.

FOOT NOTES :

1. ARE 109/1901 - E.I. pp. 292 ff.
2. Please see my "Rājēndra Viṇṇagar" - Chapter I.
3. For eg. S.I.I. XIV/194.
4. Cōḷa inscriptions of the regin of Rājarāja I and Rājēndra I occur in Edirkōṭṭai (Rāmnad) and Sinnamanūr SII Vol. XXVI 502, 503, 505 SII Vol. XXIII, 439, 452 (Madurai) Kulōtunga I, who had compaigned for reasserting his authority in the restive Pāṇḍyan tract had also representative inscriptions in scattered locations right upto Kūttar (Nāgercōil) the Cōḷa Pāṇḍya inscriptions published in the SII / XIV, if they can be taken to be tepresentative they cannot be representative due to the nonsamping character of evidence reveal 61 Cōḷa Pāṇḍya inscriptions in Tirunelvēli district, 3 in Ramnad district (159, 171, 176) and 3 in Madurai district. In the last district 2 are in Anaimalai and 1 in Alagarkōil. This sampling pf published inscriptions will bear out that the extant Cōḷa and Cōḷa Pāṇḍya inscriptions listed from the other parts of the two districts of Rāmanāthapuram and Madurai districts are comparatively sparse.
5. ARE 311/1963-64 - Vīrapāṇḍyapaṭṭinam (AD 1387)
6. For typical studies of individual Pāṇḍyan Townships, especially Brahmadeya, the reader is referred to the author's "Collected Papers" (Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology, 1994) and "Rajendra Viṇṇagar" (Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology, 1980).
7. ARE 116/1905.
8. ARE 117/1905 "Taptamāsamum maḷavum" is a term which is unclear. In in the context in which it occurs the sense can be rendered as "cultivation equipment and the plough"

   "Adiyaṟai" is a corrupt of Adiyuṟai - eg. "Adiyurai, Tirumunikāraikkudi (4-3-9 Periyāḷvār Tirumoḻi" Also "Divya Prabhanda Agarati" (G.M.S. Library Publication)

9. ARE 118/1905.

10. 120/1905.

12. SII Vol. XIV/160, 161

"Sivadharma" is the upāgama of the main Āgama entitled "Śarvōkta" or Sarvōkta". Its contents are *inter alia*, "Sivabhaktiprasamsa, Lirāgarcanaphala, Lingōdbhavavarṇāna, Prasādanirmāṇa sēvāphala, Śivārcanadravya puṇyaphala, Śivapūjāphala, etc". I am indebted to Dr. S. S. Janaki, Director, K.S.R.I. for this information.

Kākkalūr is a hamlet to the north of Ghaṭana river, now known as Kākkanallūr.

13. SII XIV/p. 73 fn. Confer 241/1941, Tirupparaṅkunṟam for gift of house-sites to several temple servants.

14. SII XIV/161.

15. SII XIV/147.

16. *Ibid*, 144, 148.

17. Ibid 157.

18. Ibid 164.

19. Ibid 194.

20. Ibid 197.

21. Ibid 173 - Aḻagarkōil.

22. Pāṇḍavarmaṅgalam Plates. A13/1958-59. The genuineness of the copper plates is in doubt. But the existence of the Brahmadēya is attested.

23. The text in 429/1916 refers to the 39th year.

24. ARE 444/1916.

Such boundary stones bearing street names are found elsewhere - Eg. 116/1916; Tirukkaḷākkuḍi; 158/1938 - Iḷaiyāthākuḍi "Kāḷaiyārkālan". Measurement, rods are also inscribed - Eg. Kōil Kuḍi tāngi at Kōvanūr 48/1926.

25. SII XIV/134.

26. Ibid 146.

27. SII XIV/203 - Vēppilaippaṭṭi

28. Ibid 204.

29. Ibid 208.

30. Ibid 205.

31. Ibid 221.

32. Ibid 213.

33. Ibid 218.

34. Ibid 249.

35. Ibid 235.

36. Ibid 242.

37. Ibid 253.

38. Ibid 259.

39. Ibid 260.

40. Ibid 261.

41. Ibid 243.

42. Ibid 228.

43. Ibid 238.

44. Ibid 248.

45. Ibid 233.

46. Ibid 234.

47. Please see the author's paper on "Kōil Kuruvitturai" "Grants, resumption, and regrant" in the "Collected papers" (1994) for its detailed history.

48. SII XIV/262.

49. Ibid 251.

50. Ibid 214.

51. Ibid 230.

52. Ibid 237.

53. Ibid 232.

54. Ibid 265.

55. Ibid 250.

56. Ibid 206.

57. ARE 203/1933.

58. SII XIV - 264.

59. Ibid 226.

60. Ibid 231. Please see *infra* for detailes, the chapter on "Irrigation" (Chapter VII)

61. SII XIV/241

62. Please see my research paper on "Kanyākumari" in my "Collected papers" pp. 223-225.

63. SII XXVI/35.

64. Ibid 33.

65. Ibid 36.

66. Please see my "Collected Papers" Also "Land grants and agrarian reactions in the Cōḻa and the Pāṇḍya times" (Madras University publication 1987.)

67. ARE 664/1916.

68. Please see *infra* the Chapter on "Irrigation"

69. ARE 518/1916. Also TAS IX - p. 19

70. Please see the author's monograph on "Rājēndra Viṇṇagar" (Tamil Nadu Dept. of Epigraphy (1980).

71. Please see the author's paper on "Kōḍānūr" in the "Collected papers".

72. ARE 158, 189, 190, 191/1943-44 (Jaṭ. Vikrama)

73. ARE 24/1931-32.

74. ARE 71/1929-Jaṭ. Vikrama 4th year.

75. Muḍikkarai - unnumbered inscription copied in 1983-84 (Jaṭ. Vikrama 44th year)

76. ARE 38, 39/1931-32 (Māṟ. Sundara II - 6th year AD 1244)

77. E.I. XXV/p 64 ff.

78. Ibid No. 12 pp. 135 ff.

79. My interpretation differs from that of the learned editor at p. 71. But he has correctly rendered the import at p. 124 in the translations as "deducting"

80. SII XXIII/429, 430

81. Iid 434.

82. ARE 542/1922.

83. ARE 543, 544/1922.

84. ARE 78/1928-29.

85. ARE 71/1928-29.

86. Please see my "Collected papers". for a detailed history of "Pōśala Vīrasōmidēva Cm".

87. SII V. 446.
88. ARE 318/1929-30 - Aḻagarkōil.
89. ARE 533/1926 - Srivilliputtūr.
90. ARE 68/1916, 73/1916 - Tirukkaḷakkudi.
91. ARE 289/1960-61 - Tirumāṇikkam.
92. ARE 273/1930 - Aḻagarkōil.
93. ARE 322/1930 - Aḻagarkōil.
94. The "Collected papers" - Chapters 10, 11, 12, 13, 15 and 17.
95. ARE 322/1923 - Tirukōṣṭiyūr.
96. SII XXIII/450 - Sinnamanūr
97. Ibid 428.
98. Ibid 432.
99. SII V/411 - Tirunelvēli.
100. ARE 379/1935 - Kāṭṭāṇimaṅgalam.
101. ARE 311/1949-50
102. SII V/411.
103. Ibid 411.
104. ARE 291/1941 - Tentiruppērai,

CHAPTER III - APPENDIX - I

The forms of procédure for royal grants, their implementation and conveyance

The grants made to temples, and charitable institutions like the Maṭha or of a personal nature made by the Pāṇḍyan ruler have been expressed in several forms which together constitute the procedure adopted for the royal orders of grants and their formal mutation in the revenue accounts and conveying the grant to the Township organisation or the beneficiaries.

The terms that occur can be listed at the threshold. (1) *Tiruvāykkēḷvi* or *Kēḷvi* for short (2) Śrīmukham or Tirumukham (3) The Kaiyīḍu uḷvari (4) The Ninaippu (5) The Kaittaḍi or (6) Kaḍaiyīḍu (7) Niyōgam (8) Śirukkankaḷai pōdakkāṭṭal. These are severally executed and hence they are in different forms every one of which is inscribed separately. Thus, we have a bunch of records relating to the same transaction and often repetivie and sometimes one document supplementing the information in others.

It should not be understood that every one of these forms was adopted in each and every grant. The *Kēḷvi* and *Uḷvari* are invariably in evidence. Where the local township endorsed or enlarged the grant-content its Kaittaḍi and niyōga are also noticeable. The *Śrīmukham, Ninaippu and Kaḍaiyīḍu* were also found in vogue but noticeable in every case.

For example, a bunch of records from Iḍaikāl[1] refer to the same set of transactions in the 10th year of Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara. Similarly another set of grants refer to the setting up of a temple and grant for its maintenance made in the 21st year of jat. Kulaśēkhara-I (AD 1211) also from Iḍaikāl.[2]

Some more examples are the following :

Tirukoṣṭiyūr[3]	
Tirukōṣṭiyūr[3]	Jaṭ. Śrī Vallabha
Sālaigrāmam[4]	Māṛ. Sundara I (14)
Śērmādēvi[5]	Pāṇḍya - (9+1) Ruler Not available

Tirukalakkudi[6]	Name of ruler not available 11th year
Tirukalakkudi[7]	
Tiruppattūr[8]	
Pirānmalai[9]	Ruler not available-34th year 22nd day
Gangaikondān[10]	Mar. Sundara II
Āttūr[11]	
Sugantalai[12]	Not available

The last two state that on the grant by the King his subordinate officers (Sirukkankalai) were asked to show the orders received. (*Pōdakkāttacconnōm)*

Based on the evidence set out above which is typical, it will be possible to interpret the specific denotation of these terms used as forms of procedure for royal grants, their implementation and conceyance to the Township or the beneficiary. The second significance of the bunch of records lies in dating the inscriptions. The name of the ruler and the regnal year are available in the inscription conveying the grant. The *ulvari* or other communications may only be expressed as a command beginning with "*Kōnērinmaikondān*" or "*Tiruvāykēlvikku mēl*" and in some later day documents as "*Arulicceyal*". (The command by the grace of the King).

The typical instances cited are examined below from the procedural point of view which is the theme of this annexure.

The Pāndyan King Jat. Kulaśekhara in the 10th year (AD 1200) was in this bedstead called Malavarāyan in the bed-chamber in the palace at Tirunelvēli in Kīlavēmbu Nādu. On the supplication of the Śrī Vaisnavas and the prinsis of Sri Jeyatonga Vinnagar ālvār temple at Idaikāl in Rājarāja Cm he ordered that 4½ *mā* of land and another parcel 2½ *mā* in extent in all 7 *mā* be granted as *Kārānmai Dēvadānam*. This constituted the Tiruvāykēlvi or "Kelvi".[13]

A letter was issued conveying the oral command and also an extract of the revenue account (*ulvari*) which listed out the taxes remitted on the Dēvadāna grant. In the present transaction the following taxes were remitted. *Kadamai* and *Antarāyam* payable in *Accu. Kāryavārāichi* (Court fee), services like *Vettippāttam* (a contract fee for labour services due). *Pañjupīli* (the fluff of cotton). *Sandivigrahappēru* (levies for war and peace) *Ulundānkudi* (fee payable by the cultivating tenant. *Pādikāval*. (Watch and Ward levy). *Ariśittundam* (unclear, a levy for dehusking paddy), *tānappēru, Ponvari* (cash levy or levy for minting), the tax payable on the residential site occupied by the

temple, the tax on oil mill, the tax looms and the tax on goldsmith or stonemason (artisans) and the lease thereof. This also was part of the royal Secretariat Order.[14]

It was conveyed with a letter (Tirumukham or Śrīmukham) from the royal Secretariat to the Township Organisation. (the Mahāsabhā of Rājarāja Cm) On receipt, they separated the extent so granted, so that it could be treated as a revenue unit and taxes remitted and gave a written agreement (Kaittaḍi).[15]

They also remitted the distributed levies for Tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam lands (i.e. lands endowed for Viṣṇu Temple) such as *Karpūravilai, Vāraphalam, Iñjiruppuvari, Kūraipuguvān, eccōru, Variccōru* and additional collections. This written agreement was attested by as many as 12 Brahmin landholders representing the Mahāsabhā. A Tentiruppērai record uses the term "*Kaiyiḍu*" of the royal officials and of the Mahāsabhā (Rāj. Kulōttuṅga I - 39th year)[16].

A second set of records relating to a similar grant is dated in the 21st year of Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara I (AD 1221) half vēli of land was granted to the Viṣṇu temple at Vaḍatalaikkaḷam (Iḍaikāl), the eastern hamlet of Rājarāja Cm with *Kārāṇmai, mīyatci* and the tax proceeds of *antarāyam* included. This oral order was conveyed by (an epistle) Ōlai and was implemented through the *Uḷvari* (the extract of the village account where the tenurial mutation was effected.)[17]

The royal order was conveyed through a letter from Maḻavarāyan at whose instance the request of the Vaiṣṇava residents and priests and the temple executives was granted. This was the "*Ōlai*". "*Śrīmukham*" or "*Tirumukham*". the royal command conveyed on the epistle.[18]

The revenue account extract (*uḷvari*) incorporating the mutation was signed by anumber of officials (Puravuvari Tiṇai Kaḷattār), and superintendents (nāyagam) among others.[19]

The grant was to a temple Aḻagapperumāḷ) Viṇṇagar set up by Tirukkuḍandai Aḻagiya Tirumāliruñjōlai Nārāyaṇan alias Tinnancōlai Tādan.[20]

The term "Tadan" is the Tadbhava of "Dāsan" and may be the Vaiṣṇavite name if he was a Brahmin, given at the time of his Samāsrayaṇa when he was accepted by an Acharya. Alternatively it may be a "Sāttāda Vaiṣṇava, a Vaiṣṇava non-Brahmin.

The Mūlaparuṣai of Tirukōṣṭiyūr gave a letter to the temple executive Sri Kṛṣṇanārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭar (of Ātreya Gōtra). They conveyed the grant of a land as tax-free Dēvadāna which was purchased from the Nagaraṭṭār of Aruviyūr, (Śrīvallabha-puram) in terms of the royal epistle (Tirumukham) the oral command (Tiruvāykēḷvi) and the extract of the mutation in the Land Register by the Revenue Officials

(*Puravariyār eḻutuitta uḷvari*) and the final proceedings (*Kaḍai Īḍu*) of the *jīvitam* holder of the tract Kaḷavaḷi nāḍālvār.

This was ordered to be engraved, detailing the taxes remitted, but specifying the land dues at 3 *kalams*, *Tūṇi, Padakku* per *mā*, and *Antarāyam* mēni 1¼ *Tiramam* to be delivered at the temple. This was engraved in the temple walls according to the royal order. This inscription introduces us to another part of the proceedings *kaḍai īḍu* of the Jīvitam holder who held the tract.[21]

Mār. Sundara Pāṇḍya I in his 14th year (AD 1230) granted lands tax free in which the deity at Sālaigrāmam had already enjoyed occupancy rights. He ordered his grant to be corveyed in a command letter (*ōlai*) enclosing an extract from the revenus accounts signed by the revenue officials numbering over 25, most of whom were superintendents of the revenue from occupied holdings.[22] besides some Araiyar Chieftains. This showed the Pāṇḍyan bureaucracy and hierarchy were no less extensive than that of the Cōḷās.[23]

The same detailed procedure of royal letter and the oral order reduced and attested in writing and an *uḷvari* by the revenue officials and *Kaḍaiyīḍu* is also illustrated by a grant of Mār. Sundara II to the temple at Gaṅgai Koṇḍān.[24]

A Pāṇḍyan inscription from Śērmādēvi (ruler's name N.A.) reveals the loss of the original grant deed of the temple in the 13 + 5 year (18th) of Jāṭ. Kulaśēkhara in the month of Mārgaḷi and accordingly a memorandum (*Ninaippu*)[25] was issued which itself was serve the purpose of the Uḷvari. It was attested by a number of Superintendents of the *Puravari Tiṇaikkaḷam* (Revenue registry). This enabled the temple to realise 133 *Dramam*, 6 *Mākkāṇi* from the 11th year. The Memorandum issued as the authorisation for the tax-yield in place of the earlier title deeds which were lost. They were also ordered to be written again and given and till such time the Memorandum "*Ninaippu*" issued 26 was itself to serve as the document of title. This was again attested by as many as twenty officials. This order was also endorsed to the King's registry (*Nam pattiram pidippārkkuru*)[27] who had enjoyed the lands as *Jīvitam* earlier but since transferred as Dēvadāna iṟaiyili. The same form of "*Ninaippu*" or memorandum occurs in an inscription from Tiruppattūr.[28]

A grant made to Tirukkaḷakkuḍi temple was also ordered[29] and conveyed from Gangaikoṇḍapatṇam where the King was camping in the form of a memorandum (*Ninaippu*).[30]

A similar communication of grant was conveyed in the form of *Ninaippu* at Giriyambālpuram.[31] When the ruler was camping at Kēraḷavīratāvaḷam he issued a memorandum granting some tax proceeds to the Pirānmalai temple in his 34th year.[32] This was in pursuance of the royal epistle ordered on the same day.[33]

The term also occurs in an inscription of Mār. Sundara I from Kaṇṇanūr.[34]

The deity at Tirukkaḷakkuḍi got on sale lands from the Maṟavar of Vēlaṅguḍi in Pūṅguṉṟa Nāḍu. The King on the recommendation of[35] Maḷavarāyan granted the tax-proceeds of *Antarāyam, viniyōgam, Vēlikkāśu, Ponvari, Siṟṟāyam* and other levies to the deity. This was conveyed in his oral command followed by *uḷvari* from the revenue officials.[36]

Two more terms deserve notice. In some inscriptions the king ordered that his command shall be carried out by his subordinate executives (Siṟukaṇkāṇikaḷai pōdakkāttac connōm) attest and exhibit the grant.[37]

The term *Niyōga*[38] or *Mahāniyōga* also occurs which means an order of decision conveyed. This occurs both in conveying the royal grants and by the *Mahāsabhā* conveying their decision to bear land levies themselves or the distributed levies they collect for the communal obligation. *Mahāniyōga* applies to a royal order or communication *Niyoga* to that of the *Sabhā or Mahāsabhā*.[39]

The evidence would bring out how set forms procedures involving the heirarcy and the attestation of the royal decision by several officials was in vogue which should be a safeguard against spurious or unauthorised or non-authentic grants. The *Niyōgas* of the *Mahāsabhā* also were attested by several Brahmin residents/occupants. They were written documents duly executed or endorsed or attested. The letter of endorsement of tax-remission was also attested by a number of the *Ūrār* and the *Nāṭṭār*. The common knowledge of the constituents coupled with the engraving on copper or stone of the remission orders or decisions conveyed through the heirarchy was a necessary public safeguard. Even the inscribing of the grants in the stone walls of the temple as explicitly ordered by the king.[39A] The royal authority and the bureaucracy which executed it or the community organisation responsible for implementing the decision or making supplemental grants spoke for the hold of the king and his officers in the kingdom.

When earlier grant deeds were lost in any calamity (*antarappaṭṭu*) copies were reconstructed by the memorandum of the king or copies thereof were given from the archives.[40]

There are also reasons to surmise that the officials working under the king as his *Uttara Mantri* or as a minister were drawn from the same lineage (hereditarily) or family and at any rate from the same place. The place of nativity from which these officials hailed frequently mentioned are for example :

1 Aṇḍa Nāḍu (near Paḷani) Perumaṇalūr

(2) Miḻalaikkūṟṟam - Ponpaṟṟi

(3) Madurōdaya Vaḷanāḍu - Kāñjai Iṟukkai Uḻakkuḍi

(4) Madurōdaya Vaḷanāḍu - Koḍumāḷūr

(5) Sevviṟukkai Nāḍu

(6) Pāganūr Kūṟṟam

(7) Malli Nāḍu - Taḍaṅkaṇṇi Śiṟṟūr

(8) Kīḻavēmbu Nāḍu - Tacchanūr

(9) Kīḻavēmbu Nāḍu - Rājavillipuram (Māṟ. Sundara I and Mār. Sundara II)

They were mostly drawn from Aṟantāṅgi - Tiruvādānai Taluk, Paḻani, Srivilliputtur, Sivagaṅga, Paramakkudi, Mudukuḷattur (Rāmanāthapuram district), Soḻavandān Tk. (Madurai) and from Tirunelvēli Tk. (Tirunelvēli). Of course the individuals vary but the frequent occurrence of the officials from these places is well-attested. It would be an interesting aspect to investigate on a computer analysis the frewuency and the occurrence of these members of the same family or nativity adopting a chronological sequence.

FOOT NOTES :

1. (i) 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511 / 1916

   (ii) 511 512, & 513 / 1916

2. 502, 503, 504, 505 / 1916

3. 283/1923 and 291 / 1923

4. 313-314-315 / 1949-50

5. 680, 682, 683, 684, 685 / 1916

6. 71, 72 / 1916

7. 92, 102 / 1916

8. 176 / 1936

9. SII VIII / 433, 435

10. SII V / 734

11. 443 / 1930

12. 7 / 1916

13. 507 / 1916

14. 506 / 1916

15. 508 / 1916

16. 291 / 1941

17. 502 / 1916

18. 504 / 1916

19. 505 / 1916

20. 502 / 1916

21. 283 / 1923

22. 313 / 1949-50

23. 313-315 / 1949-50

24. SII V / 734

25. 680, 682, 683 / 1916

26. 684 / 1916, 685, 687 / 1916

27. Ibid

28. 176 / 1936

29. 72 / 1916

30. 71 / 1916

31. 470 / 1916

32. SII VIII / 435

33. Also SII VIII / 433

34. PSI 250 - pl. see my PDK studies p. 208. I have changed my interpretation of the term "*Ninaippu*" therein on further investigation.

35. 102 / 1916

36. 92 / 1916

37. 7 / 1916 Sugantalai Also 443 / 1930 in Āttūr for "Sirukkankaḷai" please see (Tamil Lexicon Vol. III p. 1457; Divyaprabhandam-Periyāḻvār Tirumoḻi 1, 4, 7)

38. 402 / 1916 (Pl. see p. VI of appendix in "Rajendra Viṇṇagar")

39. SII XIV 146 "Niyōga" of Mahāsabhā 39A SII V - 430

40. 679 / 1916 Śērmādēvi 684, 685, 687/1916 - Sērmādēvi

CHAPTER IV

LAND DEVELOPMENT AND TENURES

Land grants, endowments and Sales

The royal grants to temples and the Brahmins could be either the land-dues payble or land itself, if it not already occupied or both. They were both incentives for land development and had positive economic effect. Even when such land-dues were remitted, the king usually reserved some part of the dues like *Antarāyam* or *śilvari* or other requirements of services needed. Hence, we notice that Dēvadāna and Brahmadēya lands too were sometimes levied land-demands. Also when the grants were made to the institutions the service obligations went with the grant and had to be rendered to the institution. The king's land-dues could be remitted only by him or by the chieftains. Where there was a change of tenure, the grantees could vary the term of the holding. Having regard to the hold of the custom it should have been only marginal and occasional and in harmony with the land-demands in the proximity. The force of "longue duree" of levies throughout the period was well-evidenced.

The duty in the Dēvadāna lands and the chieftains or other intermediaries could induct occupants of their choice into unoccupied lands. This was explicitly stated in some cases where reclamation of lands or rehabilitation of deserted villages or habitats were undertaken.

Similar induction of occupants could be done by the community in unoccupied waste or lands reverted to the community and held collectively by them. In these cases the community itself bore the collective responsibility for the payment of the land-dues services. Hence the continuous activity to convert the collective holdings of the community into individual holdings when the sales were concluded the prior encumbrances like usufructory mortgages of the land or subsisting interests were settled and determined.[1] If the purchaser donated the lands to a temple or for a charitable purpose, the *Ūrār* collected the land price and also the capitalised amount the interest on which was adequate to pay the land-dues obligations which the township took over. Strangely, the land price per sey was only ½ *Kāśu* but the capital-deposit for the land-dues was 5 times that, 2½ *Kāśu*.[2] This pattern is borne out elsewhere as in Pudukkōṭṭai.[3] The cases cited were sales by *Ūrār* or agricultural townships.

This has three implications: First, the land-dues payable to the king could not be renitted except by him or his chieftains in certain cases. Secondly, it was open to the township community to collectively undertake to pay such dues. Thirdly, they

could, collect a cash deposit from the vendee or the beneficiary and from out of the proceeds pay the land dues.

There was an alternative method. The vendee could pay *Kaṛpūra viḷai* and once and for all determine the payment of land dues. This could be paid to the king against prospective reclamation of land.[4] It could also be claimed by the chieftain as the Kalvāyil Nāḍāḷvān collected it in a sale of *Iṟaiyili Kāṛāṇmai*.[5] In a sale in Cōḷapuram 1000 paṇams were collected from a purchaser, an annual levy of 100 paṇams was payable to the temple as immutable levy.[6] In this case the *Kaṛpūra viḷai* was 10 times the annual payment to the temple which could be presumably equal to the land levy payable by adjacent lands.[7]

A peculier case is recorded in Sivapuri. In A.D. 1271 (Māṛ. Kulaśēkhara I) the Māhēśvarās received *Kaṛpūra viḷai* of 70 paṇam and utilised it for redeeming a mortgage on land purchased as *Tirunāmāttu Kāṇi* already by paying 50 paṇam and the balance of 20 paṇam were utilised for the renovation of the temple.[8] Here the *Kaṛpūra viḷai* was paid to the Māhēsvarās and not to the king or the chieftain. Perhaps, this implied that the purchaser who endowed the lands need not pay the land-dues but the Māhēśvarās had taken the liability in return for the payment of *Kaṛpūra viḷai*. It is not known if the Māhēsvarās made over that amount to the king or his officers.

In some sales by the *Ūrār* or the *Brahmadēya Sabhaiyār*, the *Kāṛāṇmai Kuḍigaḷ* also join as vendors. Evidently in such cases the principal occupant had inducted cultivating tenants whose rights too had to be determined by a share of the saleprice due to them. The *Kāṛāṇmai* tenants were perhaps a distinct entity[9] and had interests exclusive of the *Brahmadēya* or the *Ūrār* or other principal occupants. This form of sale occurs particularly in Āṟṟūr which was a multiple-township, a *Brahmadēya* an *Ūr*,[10] and perhaps soldiery. (*Parivāram)*

Two other peculiar cases are noticed. The queen of Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara had a usufructory mortgage on land which figured as a boundary of the half protion of land sold by the Nagarattār (in Tirunelvēli).[11] In another case in Madurai the queen Ulaga Muḻududaiyāḷ purchased and gifted a land for maṭha.[12] Perhaps these were private gifts or charities from the queen's own funds.

The *Nagara*, the *Brahmadēya* and *Nāṭṭār* also could gift sell or induct an occupant in unoccupied lands in their respective townships. They could also remit the land-obligations due to their respective entities like *Sabhāviniyōgam* or distributed levies among the Brahmadēya holders imposed by the Mahāsabhā. Such special levies were

made for a common purpose. The Mūlaparudai Sabhā at Tiruppattūr sold land remitting the taxes for 120 the *Cōḻīya Naṟpaḷaṅkāśu* for going to Madurai to meet the king.[13] The Mahāśabhā also undertook to remove any encubrances and hindrances to enjoyment.[14] If they failed they were individually and collectively to pay a fine of 5 *Kaḻañju* and 50 *Kaḻañju* respectively. Thus the character of the *Mahāsabhā* was not corporate but collective. Also the collective fine was 10 times that on the individual.[15]

The *Mahāsabhā* also agreed while making the sale that the *Taram* or assessment-classification for the land sold remain constant at the same *Taram* as it was sold.[16] They showed a concession if there was deficit supply in irrigation to any field.[17]

The Brahmins themselves had acquired lands either by inheritance or by gift[18] or by Gurupāramapariyam[19] (as the fee for the preceptor). An inscription from Peruṅgaruṇai (Mudukuḷattūr taluk) is intriguing. It stated that till the 11th year of a ruler Vīra Pāṇḍya the lands were enjoyed in "Catuṣkam" (jointly or collectively without the shares being divided) and as this was not favoured (Gouravamillāda Padiyāle) they decided in the 14th year to divide the common into shares.[20] If this interpretation is correct, it brings out how collective enjoyment was not a favoured form of holding and individually divided enjoyment was at a premium.

The Nāṭṭār, being the collective holders of the larger geographical area comprising several and varied types of townships also sold lands. They could remit the distributed levies they themselves imposed or undertake to bear the levies collectively or among the townships comprised in the Nāḍu.

An inscription of Pāṇḍya Kulasekhara (34th year) stated that the temple of Vaḍaperuṅgōiluḍaiyār and Sūḍikkoḍuthanācciyār at Srivilliputtūr and its auspicious gate precincts were under the protection of Ēḻarainaṭṭār, Vīravaḷanāṭṭār, Pūṅgānāṭṭar, Seykuḍināṭṭār, Iruñjōṇāṭṭār Veṇbaikkuḍināṭṭār, Karunīlakkuḍināṭṭār and the three agattār therein.[21] Perhaps, this was a later Pāṇḍya inscription but is typical. The following are instances of grants by the *Nāṭṭār*.

Ref. and date	*Name of place*	*By whom granted*
SII XIV / 233, 234 Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha (13)	Tirukōṣṭiyur	Grant by Cōḷapāṇḍya Vaḷanāṭṭu Nāṭṭār
105 / 1916 Jaṭ. Sundara	Tirukkaḷakkuḍi	Ponnamarāvati Nāṭṭār
106 / 1916 Māṛ. Kulaśēkhara I (44)	Tirukkaḷakkuḍi	Kānanāṭṭār
285 / 1923 Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha	Tirukōṣṭiyūr	Nāṭṭu viniyōgam 3 paṇam
162 / 1936 Jaṭ. Sundara I	Mahibālanpaṭṭi	PūṅgunṟaNāṭṭūr
146, 147, 150 / 1936 Māṛ Kulaśēkhara (18)	Piḷḷaiyārpaṭṭi	Adaḷaiyūr Kēraḷasiṅgavaḷanāḍu Kalvāyilnāḍu Kīḻkuṇḍaṟṟu Nāṭṭār
21 25, 27, 29, / 1926	Iḷayāthakuḍi	Nāṭṭār remit nāṭṭuvari
146 / 1936 Māṛ. Kulaśēkhara	Piḷḷaiyārpaṭṭi	Nāṭṭār declare Mātha lands endowed as Iṟaiyili
257 / 1977-78 Kulaśēkhara	Poygaikkāḍu	Nāṭṭār grant to the temple
35 / 1909 Kulōṭṭunga I	Kunnakkuḍi	A number of *Ūrār* grant remission from the holdings in their respective Townships though the *Nāṭṭār* as such do not figure

Similar instances are noticed in Tirunelvēli

Ref. and date	*Name of place*	*By whom granted*
413 / 1906, 411 Rājarāja I (28) A.D. 1013	Śīvalappēri	Nāṭṭār of Muṟappa Nāḍu
525 / 1958-59 Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara (13+12)	Ālvārtirunagari	Nāṭṭār agree to bear taxes on land sold by Brahmins
370 / 1959-60 Māṟ. Sundara	Śeyduṅga Nallūr	Nāṭṭār undertake similar obligation
466, 462 / 1930 Māṟ. Kulaśēkhara (5)	Āttūr	The Nāṭṭār of Kuḍanāḍu sell land for celebrating Śivarātri a festival
458, 459 / 1930	Āttūr	”
451 / 1930	Āttūr	”
Also SII VIII / 178 Jaṭ. Sundara (10)	Kāḷaiyārkōil	”

The procedure for such exclusion of demand and remission of the distributed levies are brought by the two instances in Āttūr.

Gurukulattaraiyan had instituted a festival in the month of Āvaṇi for which he endowed a purchased land.[22] Out of the parcels 2 *mā* were set apart for a dancing girl for performing a dance-drama (*Tirunāṭaka-Kūttāḍum Kāṇi*).[23] The Nāṭṭār having received a cash deposit resolved that the *Ūrār* of Āṟṟūr who collected 29 *Kāśu* (from their holdings) need not pay the distributed levies on the lands endowed by Gurukalattaraiyan which the *Nāṭṭār* agreed to pay and remit from the *Nāṭṭār Ūr* levies. In the demand for distributed levies from the month of Ādi the 29 *Kāśu* shall be deducted and the balance of the levies shall be distributed and levied.[24] The Nāṭṭār also made mutations of registry in the *Oḻugu* where lands were rendered as *Iṟaiyili*, deducted the amount from the total demand and gave a niyōga as a title deed for the remitted taxes.[25]

The above instances are collective sales by the *Ūrār*, the *Nagarattār*, the *Mahāsabhā* of *Brahmadēya* villages and the *Nāṭṭār*. Some noteworthy sales or purchases by individuals may new be noticed which throw light on the content, the procedure and the peculiarities of the transactions. In fact, the volume of such individual transactions, if not far larger is equally large. Hence the contradistinction between collective holdings of the community and individual holdings should be used with caution and the former did not outstrip the latter. The sense of individual holding was also far too strong to be ignored.

We may now note typical cases of individual grants benefactions and endowments.

In Āttūr in A.D. 1007 (Rājarāja I - 22) an occupant converted himself into an occupant tenant and converted his land into Dēvadāna himself undertaking to give 4 *nāḷi* of paddy per crop. The obligation of paying the land-dues remained with him.[26]

A minister of Kulōttunga I (Jayadhara) Mānāvatāra by name gifted a gold aureole and money for lamps in the Sōmanatha temple of Āttūr.[27]

In the 32nd year (A.D. 1102) of Kulōttuṅga, Nambi-Viṭaṅkan alias Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa Tāyilar Periyān of Śeyamaṅgalam constructed the first and second tiers of the Maṇḍapa of the temple at Śivapuri.[28]

Sometimes the addition of the Prākāra walls or other improvements were done, collecting a distributed contribution. A lady paid *Kāśu* 12 for her share (*Vīśam*) for erecting the surrounding wall in the Kailāsamuḍaiyār temple at Śērmadēvi.[29]

The Tiruvalīśvaram temple was situated on the banks of Ghaṭana river. But provision was made to provide water to be brought from Tāmraparaṇi a few kilometres away for bathing the God on sundays.[30]

A merchant of Kulaśēkharapaṭṭinam alias Arviyūr set up an image of Subramaṇya and his consorts and deposited 200 paṇam with the temple treasury for food offerings and services.[31]

In A.D. 1296, Sundara Pāṇḍya Brahmādirājan of Tiruveḷḷaṛai set up the image of Māṇikkavāśagar at Śeyaduṅganallūr.[32]

A chieftain from Rājavillipuram, Oruvāṛunarndān Tamiḻ Pallavarayan had made extensive endowments in Tirukkaḷakkuḍi[33] in Tiruvēḍagam[34] where he set up a matam and endowed some jīvitam to Madurai Mīnakshi Temple.[35] He was a contemporary of Māṛ. Sundara I and had taken part in his campaigns and of Māṛ. Sundara II (AD.) 1230-1250)

In Tiruvādavūr itself, a Dāsi Kuḷaiñjāḷ Āccan alias Ālālasundari naṅgai, one of the Dāsis of the temple rendered various services including the setting up of the images of Chandraśēkhara and Gowri done through her husband Bhattan Dēvan alias Tennagaṅgadēvan. She was granted certain honours in recognition by the deity.[36]

The basement of the temple at Kulaśēkharapatnam was caused to be constructed by Periyān Cokkakūttan and Siṅga velvidaiccanmugapperumāḷ.[37]

A spring well was contructed by Tamiḻādarāyan as charity in Malayaḍi Kuṟicci in A.D. 1314.[38]

Even a donor from distant Kashmir purchased land 1 *mā* in extent and the yield of 3 *Kalams* there from was to be utilised for the services in Aḻagar temple.[39] A much earlier grant by a Kashmiri couple to the temple at Śērmādēvi may be recalled.[40]

Sometimes the endowment was to secure merit for the dead. Purisandi is stated to have entered fire in self-immolation. Tennavan Muṟappanāḍu Kiḻavan made a land grant to the temple at Śeyduṅganallūr himself and his desendants a to pay taxes due on the land endowed.[41] Lands for the merit of the deceased or funerary cermonies (Pukaipōkki) were endowed in Īśvarappaṭṭi (Tirumaṅgalam)[42] and in Saṅkarankōil.[43] A grant of Kāṇi land by a Vēḷar at Akkasālai was for "Sivalōkaprāptam" i.e., for funerary rights.[44]

The land gift was sometimes on an auspicious occasion. Vaṇḍuvaraipperumāḷ made such gift on the birth of his son himself undertaking to pay the taxes on the land to Tiruppulīsvaramuḍaiyār at Śeyduṅganallūr in A.D. 1230 in the reign of Māṟ. Sundara I.[45]

A peculiar practice was for the chieftains to acquire lands in binami transactions (*anniya-nāmattāl)* and not in their own names. They were ensowed for services to Tirunelvēli deity.[46] These were purchased by Ilaiyāḷvar Kāliṅgarāyar from the occupants. Similarly a chieftain of the same name purchased land in the name of one Nārāyaṇa Bhattan and made it his own for maintaining a well constructed by him for a water shed at Ulaguḍaimukkōkiḻānaḍigal Cm (Udayanēri).[47] Perhaps this was to evade the ban on sale of Brahmadēya or special tenure lands. But this explanations does not fit in as numerous such sales are noticed in Pāṇḍyan times. The fear seems to have lurked that if lands were purchased in their own names by chieftains they were liable to be resumed or regranted. Alternatively as they might not be residents, it was considered expedient to buy in a permanent resident's name who could also maintain the purpose of the grant.

In passing, it may be noted that the lands sales by Siva temples were always executed in the name of Candikēśvara as Candikēśvarapperuvilai Candēśvarā represented Śiva as his ādi-dāsa. Prof. Sastri has added. 'The corresponding term if any for describing sales by Viṣṇu temple does not seem to appear anywhere.[48] The sales by Viṣṇu temples or to Viṣṇu temples were executed in the name of Sēnāpati as 'Sēnāpati-peruvilai'', Sēnāpati being Visvaksēna who is the *majordoma* of the Viṣṇu temple and its properties. The inscription states Śēnāpati Āḷvār Tirunāmattukku and the lands was purchased as *Kāṛāṇmai Iṛaiyili* for the Tirunārāyaṇavinnagar Āḷvār at Sugantalai.[49]

Land disputes had occasionally arisen. The land disputed by three townships in Kurumaṛaināḍu, a *Brahmadeya*, a *Nagara* and the *Ūr* and how it was resolved by all of them agreeing to endow the lands to the newly set up shrine of Kulasekhara at Rajendravinnagar has been recounted elsewhere.[50] This was in A.D. 1209 in the reign of Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara.

About the same time (A.D. 1203) there was a private land dispute. Maṅgaiyarkkarasi the wife of the chief of Vaḍakaḷavaḷināḍu (Aḷagamānagari in Sivagaṅga Taluk) had set up the deity Āḷuḍaiya Piḷḷaiyār in A.D. 1193. She endowed with the approval of the chieftain the lands in Tirugñānasambandanallūr, to the north of Nallūr. Ten years later, when the donor set up the 'Śūlakkal', the emblem of lands endowed to Śiva temple two residents of Nāmanūr Poṛsēndan Nannan, Kānbān Nannan objected claiming the land to be their holdings. The dispute was resolved by the chieftains wife paying the price of the land. The grant to the deity of Tirugñānasambandanallūr as Muṟṟūṭṭu Dēvadāna was also endowed and confirmed by the objectors.[51]

In Ś 1266 (A.D. 1344) it was found the temple lands at Radhānūr were misappropriated. They were reclaimed, and restored for the renovation of the temple.[52]

In Tirukkaḷakkuḍi (A.D. 1501) due to the troubled times when the Kannaḍa conquerers had caused hardship Vēlaṅguḍi Maṛavas desired to sell their lands which they had acquired from the *Ūrār*. When the lands were brought in public auction, the temple authorities of Tirukkaḷakkuḍi claimed the lands to be Tirunāmattukkāri and showed an inscription in support. But the Maṛava vendors claimed that for long they had been in enjoyment and paid taxes and they had documentary evidence to cite. It was decided that such long time occupants could not be dispossessed and the temple agreed to pay the price for the land. The Maṛava vendors agreed to bear the tax-dues and services.[53]

In another public sale of land brought about by mistake of fact the sale cancelled and the lands restored.[54] In a case where prior enjoyment had been overlooked lands in exchange had to be given.[55]

When lands were granted involving boundaries of several adjoining villages, the superintendents of Revenue, and accountants of the villages concerned showed and settled the boundaries of the grant-village or lands.[56]

The sense of equity, and respect for established enjoyment and possession and a spirit of compromise to resolve disputes are well-evidenced by the cases cited. These cases were directly resolved or composed by the affected parties without any interference or imposition by others.

Land reclamation activity

The need was felt for repetitive capital outlays for reclamation of land. This was specially the case in rainfed tracts and dry uplands. Instances could be cited from Nanguneri taluk, at the southern extremity in Kōṭṭai Karuṅguḷam[57] where lands to be reclaimed were granted as Dēvadāna in A.D. 1204. It was most conspicuous in the rainfed uplands of Rāmanāthapuram dt. and to a lesser extent in Madurai dt. Specific instances are examined below :

In the reign of Jat. Kulaśēkhara lands in Tiruvuṉṉāḷigainallūr were endowed to the deity at Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam. But they remained fallow without any yield. Hence the Śrī Rudra Māhēśvaras of the temple sold the land in A.D. 1221 (5th year of Māṟ. Sundara I, the next ruler) to two goldsmiths.[58] The deity Sundarēśvarar at Madurai inducted an occupant in two āyacuts Serumanēri which was from the date of the grant lying waste as the sluice and the tank were damaged and another Ālattūr too was similarly lying waste without cultivation. An immutable levy of 4 Accu was determined to be paid by the occupant.[59] The temple authorities of Tiruvādavūr found a Dēvadāna land was lying waste, as the tank had breached and the temple could not realise the cash levies. Hence, they inducted an occupant into possession and fixed per *mā* 4 *kalam* 1 *tūṇi* 1 *padakku* as grain-leavy and *mukkāṇi mundirigai* of 5 *mēni Dramam* as *antarāyam*. This was in A.D. 1278.[60] In fact repeatedly the Tiruvādavūr temple authorities complained of such breaches in the tank and lands lying waste.[61]

Lands in the dry rained areas of Rāmanāthapuram Dt were even more liable to be laid waste for lack of water or due to the tanks having breached under severe cyclonic storms or heavy rains. Re-clamation activity was even more intense in this tract.

In A.D. 1208 as ordered by the king, the Mahāsabhā of Śrī Parāntaka Cm in Ārinādu granted Grāmaṇinallūr, as a Dāsar serving the Tiruttaṅgal temple had brought a royal epistle. The Dāsar had to excavate a tank named Ninṟanārāyaṇappērēri and had to reclaim the land lay field bunds and exacavate canals as per the gradient and cultivate the lands. The mahāsabhā undertook to bear the land-dues thereon.[62] The king

himself, in the very next year as advised by the royal preceptor remitted the taxes for the apparel expenses of the deity.[63]

In troubled times when the chieftains took possession of the townships they interfered even with the enjoyment of Dēvadāna lands. The western hamlet of Tiruttangal was purchased from the Brahmins by the *Ūrār* of Tenvettipparrūr in Tirumallinādu who made over the lands on usufructory mortgage to the chieftain Amariladēvan who took over the Nādu. He enjoyed the lands without paying any land-dues to the temple. Later some purchasers including Vīracōla dēvan of Kappalūr purchased the lands from the Maravar who possessed the lands and the king ordered that land-dues shall from the date of the purchase be paid again to the temple.

It is understandable that under the circumstances, it was necessary to provide incentives even for reclaiming Dēvadāna lands. Śadaiyan Kuricci and other lands endowed for the kitchen services were without occupants and laid waste and for inducting occupants it was ordered that those chieftains and other king'smen who took over the Nādu shall not cause any hindrance to the enjoyment of the temple lands and cause yield-lesses.[65]

Śūlāmaninallūr was granted by the Brahmins of Mangalam to the Visnu temple of Mudikkarai, Udārapriya vinnagar emberumān. From the time of the grant it was waste and the tank was overgrown with shrub. As none could reclaim it, the temple authorities decided to grant occupancy to the Brahmins again and get cash for the renovation works of the temple.[66]

Some of the Agrahāras also get depopulated, one such was Vīrapāndya Cm (in Tenvallattirukkainādu). The old residents had migrated to other mandalas. They were invited and the grant was renewed with 40 shares of 6 *mā* each (1.98 cents) with housesites.[67]

Private deposits of cash were invested in the renovation of ponds and shall tanks as at Tirukōstiyūr.[68] Similar cases are noticed at Sākkōttai[69] and at Uñjanār.[70] In Vēlangudi, the temple authorities sold long waste lands for 120 panams and at a fixed damand of 55 Kuligaippanam.[71]

Tirukkalakkudi was persistently facing the land reclamation problems. The temple lands needed capital investment and frequent sales were hence noticed. In the 15th year of Mār. Sundara the temple lands were sold for reclamation for 400 *Kuligai* panam. In this case the vendee was permitted to club two tanks into one[72] so that the capacity may be augmented. Another āyacut was sold in public auction by the Vēlangudi *Ūrār*.[73] Such reclamition activity had been repeatedly undertaken even as late as Ś 1464 (A.D. 1542).[74] Lands granted for Adhyana service even were not reclaimable

and yielded no revenue and hence the lands granted had to be exchanged by purchasing lands elsewhere.[75] These were largely due to the vagaries of nature and natural calamities.

In all such sales for reclamation, the sale-price for the lands should have been at a discount. For one thing they were unyielding. For another they required capital investment on the part of the vendee/donor.

The land-levy by way of *Kaḍamai* obligation was also concessional. Usually it was a fixed or immutable levy - *Vāḍākkaḍamai*. In the land sold for reclamation by the deity of Madurai it was 4 *accu*.[76] In Vēlanguḍi it was again a fixed assessment of 45 paṇams per year. In Tirukkaḷakkuḍi it was 5 *Rāśi* paṇam for *Piśānam*, and graded levies for summer crop, and dry crop. It was provided that till the reclamation of the tank only ¼ of the levy shall be collected in the first year, ½ in the second, ¾ in the third and full rates shall be leviable only from the 4th year.[77] Even in the late case of the 1542 only a fixed lease (*Oṭṭu*) demand of 10 paṇam and 120 *Kalams* of paddy was fixed.[78]

Thus, the concession was in the form of a fixed levy. The additional yield could be appropriated over a period of time by the occupant-vendee. Alternatively an increment remission spread over four years was granted which could be sufficient incentive for capital investments involved.

Land tenures, sub-tenures and tenurial changes

The framework : The medieval land tenurial structure was complex. Land was not merely a factor of production. Its produce was also a means of recompensing services and to that extent was a medium of exchange. Also it was a fixed asset and was preferred for investment for endowments.[79] Multiplicity of interests was fastened on the land and there was, to that extent, a plurality of obligations.

Possession and enjoyment (*Paṟṟu*) were the actual and essential ingredients of holding. The idea of "ownership" was somewhat alien to the medieval tenurial structure more so because of the multiplicity of interests and the plurality of obligation fastended on land. Even only change the occupancy and convert the tenure of the land.

The forms of holding, then, were the crucial factor in land enjoyment and cultivation. There was broadly a three tier system discernable.

The king had his dues (*Kadamai*) which were the first charge on the occupant-holder. To this should be added minor cash levies (*Śillirai*) like *Antarāyam* and services like *Vāśalkāryam, Tirueḷucci Kuḍimai*, at the palace gate, or when the king was on tour.

Under the king, were the holdings of the community, being collective holdings (*Ūr podu, Sabhapōdu*) for which the township as a whole had the obligation to pay the land-dues.[80]

There were the alienees, the temple or the Brahmadēya holders who were essentially, intermediaries. They too had to pay a stipulated levy or share as land-dues to the king though they were usually rid of the services. These services that could be demand of the cultivaters were transferred to the occupant intermediary, the temple or the Brahmin holders.

A second species of the intermediary were the "*Jīvitam*" holders, being chieftains who had been assigned the lands but subject to a levy of land-dues and doing service, especially military service in times of need to the king.

The service holders in the township for teaching (*adhyayana*), for reciting Purāṇas, washermen or smithies were also holding lands on condition of doing the service. They were estates upon condition. These service holdings could be either granted by the king or instituted by the chieftains and / or the other intermediaries. They were also subsistence (*jīvitam*) grants, and some of them could be actual cultivators.

The direct occupants under the king should have constituted the larges in spread and number (*Veḷḷānvagai*). But they need not necessarily be cultivators and etc. that extent were only renters or intermediaries. They could cultivate the land themselves or cause it to be cultivated by others.

This brings us to the last category of the holders - the cultivating tenancy. The manner in which they held the cultivating rights were varied. It could be in a fixed obligation which was immutable (*Vāḍākkaḍan*) or it could be as a sharing basis (Vāram) the exact quantum of share varying from case to case or area or even crop to crop, depending on the nature of the land, whether fully established for cultivation or whether to be reclaimed. The third manner of holding was on *pāṭṭam* (or lease) in which the cultivating tenant had the obligation to pay a fixed share as lease-rentil.

This framework, broadly categories the land occupancy and the cultivating holders as a pattern. There could be a mix, of interests. They are the more complicated by the transfer by sale or gift or usufructory mortgage of the transferror's interest in land. Generally, all interests hold are found to be transferable, inheritable or could be donated. Exceptions however, are the service-holders obliged and tied to the render services to the temple or the community. Acquisition of interests and conversion of tenures were common for e.g., a Brahmadēya land can be purchased and converted into Veḷḷānvagai and vice-versa.[81]

The *jīvitam* holders (including service holders) were changeable and their lands resumable. Even Dēvadāna and Brahmadēya lands were resumed, sometimes and regranted to the same or other beneficiaries. Changes of *jīvitam* holders or their conversion to Dēvadāna or Brahmadēya tenure were more frequent.

This framework serves two purposes - first to provide the background for the detailed study that follows; secondly, it helps to fix the transactions in the proper perspective and context.

We may now notice specific instances of transfer of tenure and the obligations they carried with them.

In the 20th year of Jāṭ. Śrīvallabha (A.D. 1110) an extent of 12 *mā* was declassified as *Brahmadēya* and converted into *Dēvadāna* for the Erichāuḍaiyār (Tiruppōttuḍaiyanāyanār) temple at Ambāsamudram. The lands lay inside the temple premises and to the west and thereof. To the south the river Tāmbraparaṇi flowed and there was no cultivable land. The document reveals that the *Taram* (the assessment-classification) register) was missing and hence the levy of 20¾ *māḍai* as for the adjoining lands as granted to the temple and the lands rendered taxfree. This was under a royal order.[82]

About the same time, the king had ordered the lands originally granted as Dēvadāna to a Viṣṇu temple, Mānavīravinnagar āḻvār be transferred as the dēvadāna of a Śiva temple. Vīrapāṇḍyēśvaramuḍaiyar temple as recommended by the prince, Sundara pandya. The land-dues including *antarāya* were remitted.[83]

In Tiruvālīśvaram (in A.D. 1034-35) 5 *vēlis* of Brahmadēya lands were converted into *Veḷḷānvagai*. The assessment fixed was that prevalent in the nāḍu 642 *kalam* 6 *kuṟuṇi* etc. This demand was reduced from that fixed for Rājarāja Cm and a separate unit Śivacaranēśvaranallūr was formed for the festivals and feeding 25 Brahmins in Tiruvālīśvaram temple[84] and for reading Śivadharma.

This was the case of concessional tenure lands being resumed and charged full assessment. The proceeds were appropriated for various services. The full assessment rates worked out to ever 128.5 *kalams* per *vēli* in paddy. In addition 35¼ and *mukkāṇi kāsu* and *kātci* erudu 5 *kāśu* were payable in cash.

In the 7th year of Jat. Śrīvallabha (A.D. 1097) this grant by the Cōḻa-Pandya ruler was confirmed by the Pāṇḍya king, Srivallabha, on the terms settled by Umayammi and given as a *kāṇi* to Mānābharaṇa Vaikuṇṭa Nāḍāḻvan.[85] This was at once a confirmation of an earlier grant and a change in occupancy of the lands. But the purpose and content of the grant remained impaired.

The 2 vēlis of land in Kallur granted by Jat. Sundara Cōla Pāndya in the same year (A.D. 1034)[86] to the temple at Śērmādēvi was the very reverse being *Vellānvagai* land granted as Dēvadāna, so too were the 3 *vēlis* of land added to that grant.[87] The assessment on 3 *vēlis* was 32½ *kāśu* in cash and 567 *kalams padakku, nali* 4, for the veli. per veli 189 kalam and odd. This assessment is perceptibly higher than the Ghatana fed lands granted to the Tiruvālīśvaram temple.

In these cases the land occupancy remained with the holders inducted into possession. The grant was only of the obligations of the holding (*Kānikkadan*) to the temple.

The king Jat. Kulaśēkhara I in his 3rd year (A.D. 1193-4) while being seated at Kōttāru ordered on the request of the temple excutive of Tirunelvēli that the holding of one Avaninārāyana Brahmādirāyan of Palam Śīvalamangalam be resumed and granted to Perumalūr Kōlavāmana Āpatsahāyam. This was to conduct a festival on the native asterisk of the king. This grantee had himself purchased lands from the Sabhaiyār, from out of his grant-land and the purchased one, he instituted another feed service on the Bharani asterisk in the month of Citrai.[88] The manner in which the earlier holder was compensated is not known. Perhaps he was granted a land in exchange. The motivation was strong, being one of celebrating the king's natal star.

The setting up of an Agrahāra in Mēlavēmbunādu had necessitated the shifting of the habitat of the Kāliganattār, and the Vellālas. A benefactor consolidated the Brahmadēya holdings.[89]

Even temple lands were resumed (*Tirappu*). The land-dues were regranted for a special festival on the native asterisk of Mār. Kulaśēkhara I (A.D. 1295-96) at Nānguneri.[90]

The Dēvadāna lands of Nālāyirvinnagar alvar in Kallidaikuricci had only the *Kārānmai* rights conveyed. The land-dues *(Kadamai)* and the levy on cultivating tenants (*Uludānkudi)* had been enjoyed by one Sundarapāndya Malavaraiyan. The grant to the temple was made complete by the transfer of these latter rights as well in the 4th year of king Kulaśēkhara. The Mahāsabhā of Rājarāja Cm conveyed it to the temple.[91]

A Kōnerinmai grant made at the instance of Māhābharanamangalattu Nambi enlarged the content of the grant. The deity at Vīravinōda Cm (that is Suttamalli) had 8 *mā* of land as *Dēvadāna iraiyili* in the ayacut of Kudai kulam, the western hamlet of Cēranmādēvi Cm. Determining the rights of the previous holders and the old demand (Palamperumudal) both *kārānmai* and *mīyatchi, uludānkudi, Pādikāval* and

all other dues were granted as Dēvadāna *iṟaiyili* from the 10th year. In this case the Dēvadāna grantee would be free to stipulate his own terms of land-dues, as it became the full occupant of the lands. This inscription is, perhaps, ascribable to the reign of Jāṭ. Kulaśēkhara I.[92]

The grants from the Vaigai belt showed how the land-yield was shared - the *kārāṇmai* rights with the occupants, and the *kaḍamai* and lands-dues to the deity. On the occupants themselves transferring their *Kārāṇmai* rights, the king granted the *antarāyam* and other taxes as *Dēvadāna Iṟaiyili.*

A family of 5 members *(Kūḍasthar)* of Cōḷāntaka Cm had set up a deity and a goddess and gifted and endowed their own lands 3½ *vēli* and *mā* in extent. Consequently the deity get transferred the *Kārāṇmai*, and the *mīyatci* rights. The king granted the *Antarāyam* and other dues as for the Dēvadāna tax-free lands.[93]

In a grant to the same temple at Tenkarai, Kaṇḍiyattēvar had already purchased and retained the *Kārāṇmai* rights. The *Antarāyam* and *Viniyōga* (distributed lines) were granted by the king for the sandal and other paste offerings to the deity.[94] Similar cases of the occupant retaining the *Kārāṇmai* rights and the deity being granted the land-dues or a fixed levy *(Vāḍākkaḍan)* were common.[95]

The *jīvitam* lands were more or less enjoyment at pleasure of the king. They could be resumed and regranted to the temple or to a maṭha.[96]

Grants made variously were consolidated and the boundaries were defined and the list of grant-villages, *ēmbals* and hamlets were recorded. Opportunity was taken to confirm the grants made by the subordinate chieftains or the king's relations.[97]

The intermediary-grantees also could induct persons in residential habitats and make economic use of the unoccupied house-sites. The treasury officers of the Uttama Cōḷaviṇṇagar temple of Cōḷapuram gave 24 house-sites for the weavers to reside and pursue their occupation. The weavers had to pay 10 paṇam per loom installed per month, as immutable assessment. They were at liberty to instal as many looms as they desired.[98]

In the 18th year (A.D. 1108) the chieftain Tuvarāpati Vēḷān created an Agrahāra to accomodate 20 Brahmins who were to pay to the temple treasury one *Diramam* per *mā* of cultivated land in Śivapuri village.[99]

Sometimes, even a Dēvadāna village was resumed. Tiruttaṅgal in Karunīlakkuḍi nadu was such. Jat. Śrīvallabha in his 22nd year, 540th day (A.D. 1112-13) regranted

the yield in cash and paddy by way of land-dues from the resumed village to the Viṣṇu temple in the hills at Tiruttaṅgal.[100]

Tiruttaṅgal received special attention during the period of the resurgent Pāṇḍyas. Every ruler had made grants to the temple or consituted Brahmadēyas. In the reign of Jat. Kulaśēkhara 9th year (1199-1200) a Brahmadēya for 54 Brahmins was constituted comprising the Dēvadāna village Tiruppanaiyūr, the resumed village of Porkuḍi Irungo Pa..ukkulam, Guṇamaṅgalam and Śēndamaṅgalam in Irunjōnāḍu. They were made one unit and named after the king, as Kulaśēkhara Cm. The grantees were assigned house sites near Panaiyur in Bhagaloka Kaṇḍanallūr. The *Veḷḷānvagai* tenure subsisting in these villages was determined orders implied that land-dues hitherto paid to the king were to be delivered to the Brahmin grantees. They could also admit to possession cultivators in the unoccupied but cultivable waste land[101].

Many of the tank endowments however were rainfed and lands needed reclamation. The Sabhaiyār of Śrīparāntaka Cm in Ārinādu had granted *Kārāṇmai* rights to the temple in the eastern hamlet, Pulakikuḷam Gramaṇinallūr renamed after the donor as Ninṛanārāyanappēreri. The Sabhaiyār assigned the *Kāṛāṇmai* rights sop that the tank could be excavated, the jungle removed and the lands cultivated and the *Kaḍamai antarāyam* and tax proceeds were to be utilised as *Dēvadāna Iṛaiyili*. This wish was expressed by the king's personal preceptor[102] (Śvāmidēvan) and the king in the very next year, ordered accordingly. This grant had earlier been made by the Mahāsabhā in the 18th year of Jat. Kulasēkhara themselves taking the obligation to pay the taxes.[103]

In the reign of Māṛ. Sundara I, his minister, Gurukulattaraiyan, (Sēran uyyaninṛāduvān of Taḍangaṇṇi Śiṛṛūr (near Ānaiyūr) renovated the whole temple, added maṇḍapas and instituted a Śandhi for the merit of the king and gave out of his holding the *kaḍamai* dues as grant. In grateful recognition of his benefactions he was honoured by a bugle being blown whenever he visited the temple and verses were composed in his name.[104]

Moreover, the Padmadaladēvi Cm Mahāsabhaiyār took on themselves the obligation to pay *Kaḍamai, antarāyam, Viniyōgam, kaṛpuravilai* and all other tax dues on the 2 shares (*Bhāgas*) one for a charitable purpose and another for a lamp service. This was in A.D. 1235 in the reign of Māṛ. Sundara I.[105]

Tiruttaṅgal was very populous and prosperous, huming with activity during this period. It was no surprise that several land transaction had taken place and changes in tenure alongside reclamation activity.

The example of the king was followed by the chieftains. The Adaḷaiyūr Nāḍāḷvān granted levies in his holding to the Agastīśvaramudaiyār in Ārkāḍu (Nēmam) in AD 1233.[106]

A similar grant as Iraiyili, 7½ *mā* in extent was made by Alagapperumāl Śokkan Āṇmaiaḷagiyān Dvarāpati Vēḷān. Also lands abutting the temple for residential purposes were assigned the housesite tax and services due were assigned for a lamp service. (A.D. 1234-35)[107]

Grant to a Jaina shrine Śōnaka Sāmantappaḷḷi in Pavitramāṇikkapaṭṭinam, to its east was granted by Māṛ. Sundara II in Ambattūr as *Kāṛāṇmai Kāṇiyātchi,* but the order carefully protected the existing grants already made which were to continue. This was in A.D. 1247.[108]

In the uplands of Kunnakkudi,[109] Tirukkaḷakkudi,[110] Sākkōttai,[111] Tirumālugandānkōṭṭai,[112] Mudikkarai[113] and in Cōḷapuram[114] the shared interests in land were granted conforming to the pattern - *karanmai,* with perpetual occuppancy with saleable and inheritable and disposable rights to the occupant, (*Kuḍinīngā Kārāṇmai).* The *Kaḍamai* and taxes were payable to the diety. In Aruppukkōṭṭai, the taxes were assigned to the diety and a *Guhai* (monastery) was assigned *Kārāṇmai* on condition that the latter paid 3 *kalams* per *mā.*[115]

The above are typical instance of the varieties of land tenures and tenurial changes. They bring out the details of the manner of occupancy changes and enjoyment. The basic principle was that any holder of a land or of an interest therein could own enjoy his manner of right subject only to the other obligations the land had borne. This created a plurality of obligations and not of mere rights.

Jīvitam

The grantee or the assignee under the royal grant can also likewise make over or transfer the whole or part of the interest he holds to another. This is typically illustrated by the chieftain's grant for services or otherwise of which numerous instances occur in Adaḷaiyūr and Kaḷavaḷinādu in Tiruppattūr and Śivagaṅga tracts. It may be recalled that the whole of the Kēraḷaśiṅgavaḷanāḍu was divided into three nāḍus, Adaḷaiyūr Nāḍu (North, north-east of Tiruppattūr), Vaḍakaḷavaḷi Nāḍu (Tirukōṣṭiyūr and its surrounding tract), Tenkaḷavaḷi Nāḍu, being the major part of Sivagaṅga tract. There was besides Kalvāyil Nāḍu in the northern most part of Tiruppattūr tract. These nadus were head by chieftains. (Nāḍāḷvan) who held the respective tracts as their *jīvitam.* Subject only to the payment of the *Kaḍamai* for the tract as a whole they were governing on behalf of the king the respective tracts. It follows during times of war they had to muster and lead the reserve or conscripted ūrārs from within their Nāḍus.

These *jīvitam* holders practically exercised the same rights of collecting the land-dues from the occupants, and favourable or concessional dues from grantees like Brahmadēyas and Dēvadānas.

They could also assign waste or unoccupied lands, and sell or gift out of their own land-holdings. They collected *Kaṛpūravilai* from the occupants and wastes held by temples or grantees *in lieu* of the land assessment to determine its payment.[116] They could also grant remissions for Devadana lands.

In the 40th year of Rāj. Kulōttuṅgā I (Ā.D. 1110) Adaḷaiyūr Nāḍāḷvān granted remission of the principal land dues (*iṛai*) on Dēvadāna lands in the villages held by him as his *jīvitam* on the command area of Tēnāṟu, i.e. Śeṅgāṇi, Palavānkuḍi, Puravuvarinallūr, Śiṟuvēṭṭavayal, Maṇiyattirai, Pālaivāyīl and in other jīvitam villages held by him.[117] What he remitted was the share of his land dues due to him (on ōpādi) and not the entire quantum.[118] It incidentally clarifies that the *Nāḍāḷvān* was assigned a share of *Iṛai, Kuḍimai, Puravu iṛai* and *antarāyam* and all other dues. He had for instance, the assigned right to collect taxes - *Iṛai, Pulukuppīli, Antarāyam, Vēliariśi* etc and other *Iṛai Kudimai* from his share 3½ *mā.* in Kunnakkuḍivāsal,[119] as the other half had been donated already(A.D. 1187-88).

In A.D. 1219-20 the Nāḍāḷvān seems to have sold land for an endowment,[120] another such sale was in the 17th year 1232-1233.[121]

The *jivitam* holder could also within his *Nāḍu* vary the rates of assessment and land-dues.[122]

There was a second category of *jīvitam* lands - for services to be rendered to the community, or to the temple or sometimes to the chieftains. These were small parcels, and were either taxfree or were on concessional rates of levy. The service holder was a species of the occupant, subject only to the condition of rendering service. If he was incapacitated or died without a heir, or the service was discontinued or rendered unnecessary, the *jīvitam* land could be resumed and regranted or be fully assessed. (Tiṛappu)

The *jīvitam* or *Vṛtti* could be endowed by the ruler, or by the chieftain or by the community, the *Ūrār* or *Nagaram* or the *Mahāsabhā* or by individuals. Examples are cited below :

Inscriptions	*Service*	*Extent*	*Donated by*
Tiruttaṅgal [123] Māṟ. Sundara (5)	Mahābhārata vṛtti and for reciting other Purāṇās	½ mā and proportionate share of well water	Donated by 2 Brahmins
Tirukōṣṭiyūr[124] Sundara (11+2)	For reciting Tirumoḻi (of Tirumaṅgai āḻvār)	Old Dēvadāna Iṟaiyili regranted. The encroachers of land were evicted.	By the royal epistle.
Tirukōṣṭiyūr[125]	For expounding Prābhākaram, the philosophical work	land purchased	Individual

In A.D. 1221 work Māḷava Cakravarti granted the *Kārāṇmai* rights in the Dēvadāna lands of Sannavanam to the Śivabrāhmanās who had every one a share of the services to be rendered in 30 days rotation.[126]

Inscriptions	*Service*	*Donated by*
Srīvilliputtūr[127] Ś 1395 A.D. 1473	For temple watchman	Deity's grant 2 mā (66 cents) in 11 parcels. Besides food offerings and 1 paṇam and 1 kōṭṭai paddy
Tiruvādavūr[128] Māṟ. Sundara I (21) (A.D. 1237)	For honouring those who attended the hunting festival (Tirukkaivaḷakkam)	Diety's grant
	To a dancing girl who rendered various public services for laying street and for installing Kṣētrapālapiḷḷayār	Deity's grant
Tiruvēḍagam[129] Māṟ. Sundara II (6) (A.D. 1234)	To attend to the temple affairs - excutive (30 kalams per year 1 accu)	Royal grant
Tiruvēḍagam[130] Māṟ. Vīra	For 8 bearers for Śrīpādam service Āṇdars 16 and also to supply fuel another 4-in all 28 bearers.	Deity's grant

In A.D. 1248-49 a new Sandhi was instituted in the name of the king at Aḷagarkōil. The king granted three villages for meeting the expences. In the process some lands granted as *Ūr jīvitam* (for services to the townships) were resumed, and granted as Dēvadāna. The Pāḍikāval dues from Śaḍakkuḍi alias Ulaguḍaiyanallūr was also a part of the grant to the temple for the festival.[131]

Pāḍikaval is not normally assigned as it is for the community watch and ward. It was even sold by the community.[132] One such sale was concluded by the Mahāsabhā of Tirupputtūr in favour of Māḷavaccakravarti of Suraikuḍi for 250 paṇam (Vāḷāḷvaḷi Tiṟandān) in the 44th year of Jaṭ. Vīra Pāṇḍya.

He was entitled to 10 *marakkāl* of paddy per *mā* for the watch and ward duties assigned.[133] The Ūr-kāval or watch or ward for the townships in Iraṇyūr was assigned to the Valaiyar of the place. They were entitled to receive 5 *kalams*. *Tuṇi* paddy per mā, according to a deed executed by the ūrār.[134] The Nāṭṭār were sometimes approched to afford protection. Security was particularly the concern of the merchang community. An *ūraṇi* had been excavated by the merchants of Kāḷayārkāḷaperunderu which was left to the protection of Kalvāyilnāṭṭār. (Āśrayapramāṇam)[135]

The deity of Srivilliputtur in S 1395 (A.D. 1473) assigned the watch and ward duties in the temple and 2 *mā* of land were allocated.[136]

Three categories of *jīvitam* holders can be discerned from the evidence from inscriptions from Tirunelvēli dt.

The first the officers attending to the king's affairs and chieftaincy of the maṇḍalam. This jīvitam was hereditary, and was held by Maḷavarāyar, and his son. He held the land of the highest class (*Talaivariśai*) or bearing the highest assesment 1½ vēli of land therefrom was separated and granted as Dēvadāna Iṟaiyili in A.D. (1236-37) for a new Linga installed in the Tirunelvēli temple by Kālaḍi Śaṅkaran.[137]

In Akkaśālai (near Koṟkai) a Kammāla of Rājavillipuram (near Tirunelvēli) had instituted a new Sandhi in the name of the king. For providing for it the lands cultivated by the officers attending to the king's affairs (Name kāriyam Seyadupōndavargaḷ) was resumed in Solaimaṅgalam alias Puravarivilāgam and regranted by the king Vīra Pāṇḍya in his 5th year.[138]

In these cases the executive officers of the king had held the lands during the pleasure of the king and hence they were resumable and were regranted to the deity for a service newly instituted.

The second category of *jīvitam* holders were those who were rendering community service or service connected with the festivals.

A grant made for Śāntikūttu performed in the festivals was renewed in Āttūr by Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha.[139]

In Tirukkuruṅguḍi in A.D. 1229 the Mahāsabhā executed a royal order exchanging the *Jīvitam* lands for the township accountant.[140] The potters in suttamalli, a Brahmdēya had a *jīvitam* which was resumd and assigned to five gardeners, each 1 *mā* of land.[141]

Ten mā of land had been held as *jīvitam* by a savarna, an Angavaidya (a surgeon) which was resumed to be granted as *Dēvadāna Iraiyili*.[142] A similar *jīvitam* held by Parasirāman, an Aṅgavaidya in Karisūḷndamaṅgalam was resumed and granted for the worship of Aḷuḍaiyapiḷḷaiyār set up by Vēṇāvuḍaiyār[143] in A.D. 1246-47. This grant comprised 1 *vēli* of land, seedbed 1/16 an garden 2 *mā* and 2 housesites. In such cases it has to be presumed if the services had to be continued alternate provision was made. In latter village a *jīvitam* was held by the hunter (Veṭṭaikkāran) which was changed into an occupancy land with the levy of 9 *kalam* per *mā* to be paid to the temple.[144]

In Mānūr the *jīvitam* lands 13/4 *vēli* and 1 *mā* held by the Veṭṭiyār (village servants) were on their dispossession assigned to the Brahmin Sabhaiyār of Mānanilainallūr with Kārāṇmai rights (i.e. the occupancy rights). The tax proceeds were assigned as Dēvadāna Iṛaiyili to Kulaśēkhara viṇṇagar in Karuvānallūr in Kaḷakkudi nāḍu, a village nearby.[145]

The third category of *jīvitam* were for temple services.

Jat. Kulasekhara I had assigned 3 *mā* yielding 30 *kalams* to be paid in every *Kār* crop (first crop) to a drummer (Iḍangaimārāyan).[146] For instituting an Adhyayana service at a new Sandhi the lands granted already to Kaṇḍiyadēvar were reassigned with the same rights as he had held and rendered taxfree.[147] The rate of yield was also at 10 *kalams* per *mā*, 35 kalams for 3½ *mā*, for double crop lands at kalams per crop.[148]

In Tirunelvēli in A.D. 1235, 25 *accu* were deposited by a donor which yield an interest of 30 *kalams*. The rate of interest was 1 *accu* = 11/5 *kalams*. As the cash was not capable of yielding the amount a part was invested in land - 17 *accus*, yielding 30 *kalams*, and 8 *accus* were to be given in cash to the reciter of Śrīrudram, Itwill be noticed the resultant yield was higher - as *accu* would yield the same paddy yield as 25 *accu*.[149]

In A.D. 1253-54 recite Tirugñānam several Tapasviyar from various manhas were assigned lands in all 1 *vēli* and 8 *mā*. These were from the veṭṭipaṟṟu (unassigned lands assigned for Veṭṭi service ?) from three places.

Sēravanmādēvi Cm	-	¾ vēli	1½ mā
Arikēsarinallūr	-	¼ vēli	
Suttavalli	-		6½ mā
Total	-	1 vēli	8 mā

There earlier occupants were dispossessed and the lands were made ever for the service.[150]

For tending a garden in Tirunelvēli temple, the donor himself had endowed lands 4 mā mukkāṇi Araikkāṇi which were granted with the land dues by the king as *Iraiyili*.[151]

In a Kōnerinmaikōṇḍān grant, the details of 5 shares for the wxisting shareholders and 11 additional shares for new service holders were detailed and they were to render services in the temple of the God and the Goddess and the other deities at Tirunelvēli.[152] The shares included proportionate housesites, and other food offerings. The service holders had also come from other nāḍus like Amudaguṇavaḷanāḍu, Tiruvaḻudi vaḷanāḍu and Tenkarainādu.

In an inscription of Māṟ. Sundara II (A.D. 1248-49) reference is made to Ēḻūr kaikkōḷar jīvitam in Śrīvaikuṇṭam, then known as Rājēndra CM which lay to the west of the Brahmin holdings of the Sabhaiyār.[154]

In Tirukkōḷūr a cook's holding was dispossessed and granted for a new festival instituted in the 20th year of Māṟ. Sundara I.[153]

This evidence is conclusive that grants for services were. generally, held at pleasure of the king or deity and were changeable or resumble. In such cases if the original service had to subsist it is reasonable to presume that alternative provision was made.

Kaṇḍuḷavu; or the home farm lands[155]

There is a noteworthy peculiarity noticed in the Pāṇḍyan inscriptions. Some of them refer to the home farm lands and lands hold by the king or the chieftains or the deity under personal cultivation. No occupancy rights could be claimed and the cultivaters were tenants at will.

This tenure is not noticed to the best knowledge of the author, in the Cōḻa nscriptions from the studies so far made.

The evidence in the Pāṇḍyan inscriptions is set out below. This term occurs in

inscriptions from Tirunelvēli, Suttamalli, Śrīvaikuṇṭam and Āttūr. In Madurai dt. It occurs in Tirupparaṅkunṟam and Madurai. In Rāmanāthapuram dt. It occurs in Cōḷapuram Māraṉēri (Sāttūr), Vēmbattūr, Mēlaneṭṭūr (Śivagaṅgai taluk), Tirumālugandānkōṭṭai (Arupukkōṭṭai) and in Tirukkaḷakkuḍi. It also occurs in the later Pāṇḍya inscriptions at Tenkāśi and surrounding villages and in Śaṅkarankōil.

In the 20th year of Sundara Pāṇḍya for instituting a Vīrapāṇḍyanśandi in the Tirunelvēli temple two Pāṇḍyan princes or chieftains endowed a tank, and its āyacut which were then Kaṇḍuḷavu lands in Āśurnāḍu (near about Kayattār).[156]

Another grant of Kaṇḍuḷavu was in Kuṉṟattūr for reciting Śrīrudra adhyayana on the birth star of prince Sundarapāṇḍya,[157] releasing the lands from the personal cultivation. The lands were of the highest Taram (*Talaivariśai*).

A third grant of Kāṇḍuḷavu was in Pāndanēri for the singers of hymns and for reciting Tirugñānam - 2 *mā* of land.[158]

Similar grant was made in Ārināḍu under Mānābharaṇappēreri for a Vīrapāṇḍyansandhi.[159]

For reconstructions of the (gōpura) towers and other renovation works for the Prākāra wāll in Śrīvaikuṇṭam undertaken in the king's name by Dēvapirān Tādar, Sundara Pāṇḍya granted the home farm lands irrigated by the Cittār in Kīḻkaḷakuṟṟam. These lands were in Ulakudai Mukkōkkiḷāṇḍigaḷ Cm.[160]

Other grants were :

For a garden service	Home farm land in the western hamlet of Śrīvaikuṇṭam 10 *mā* of land[161]
For services to the goddess set up by a chieftain Tiruvaraṅgaperumāl Pallavarayar.[162]	10 mā in the western hamlet in the homefarm land in Vaḍakaṟkuḷam
For Kaḷḷapirān for Vaikāśi festival[163]	The remaining lands in the same hamlet which was under "*pāṭṭom*" as his home farm land which were earlier an old Dēvadāna called Śrīpadmanābhamaṅgalam.

This grant might have been located in the village Udayaneri, a hamlet of Palamadai as the temple then has inscriptions bearing his name.

Note : On the identification the village ulakudai Mukkōkkiḷān aḍigal Cm please see fn. 164, 165.

Āttūr Śēndamangalam	For reciting Tirugñānam	Lands under the cultivation in Āṟṟūr alias Aḷagaiyapāṇḍyanallūr and in Śēndamangalam[166] alias Kulaśēkhara CM

The proceeds of the personal cultivation (uḷavumudai) were mads over the service.

Suttamalli (Tirunelvēli tk[167])	For a garden for the goddess	A Kaṇḍuḷavu land to the east of the fort (Kōṭṭaikīḻpāl) converted into an occupancy with kārāṇmai rights to Sembiyataraiyan and land-dues remitted. ½ *mā* field.

In Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam, one Irāvaḷan Prasannadēvar installed on the southern side of the hillock a Śiva temple and the deity was named after Māṟ. Sundara I. In his 7th year (A.D. 1224) the king was pleased to grant from his Kaṇḍuḷavu lands Sundarapāṇḍya puram alias Puḷinkuṉṟūr under Vīranārāyaṇa tank 6 *mā* of double crop, and 6 *mā* of single crop land for the services to the new deity. The lands assigned were to be contiguously located.[168]

A second instance was a grant of Kaṇḍuḷavu lands in Perumnallūr and other villages which were granted as Tiruviḷakkuppuṟam (for a lamp service in the temple at Madurai. The land dues payable on the conversion of the tenure were to be utilised for the purpose. The occupancy rights were granted to Sundarapāṇḍyamunaiyadaraiyan, and the yield was reduced from the king's demand. In return, the occupant assignee was to pay 2½ *accu* per year as immutable levy.[169]

In A.D. 1303-04, Māṟ. Kulaśēkhara granted 1 *vēli* of land under his personal cultivation converting it into *Tiruviḍaiyāṭṭa Iṟaiyili* for a new deity Mannār set up in the Uttama Cōḷaviṇṇagar Āḷvār temple at Cōḷapuram.[170]

In the 18th year of a ruler whose name is not available, 2 mā of land which lay to the east of the homefarm lands were granted to the Goddess of the Bed Chamber which were entitled to be irrigated from the big tank.[171]

Similar reference, to homefarm lands occur in later Pāṇḍya inscriptions.[172]

Tēnūr tank and āyacut granted as Dēvadāna *Iṟaiyili* was also a homefarm land ever since it was excluded or deducted from the revenue accounts of the nāḍu (Munnāḷ nāṭṭil kaḻittu).[173] This impless that the homefarm lands during their holding for personal cultivation were not assessed to land-dues demand.

Similar conversions of Kaṇḍuḷavu lands occur from Vēmbattūr (Sivagaṅgai Tk) and Mēlaneṭṭūr. This latter refers to the endowed lands under the king's "Kaṇḍuḷavu pāṭṭom" in Veḷḷimaṅgalam āyacut lands. The land bore the cash demand of 1/8 *accu* and 5 *kalams* if the lands yielded without any scarcity of water supply. If the lands were broughts to harvest with irrigation by baling only the cash levy of 1/8 *accu* was levied. The grain demand was remittee.

In Pirānmalai nāḍu in Ponnamarāvati command lands, were the lands of the king's homefarm to the west of Neḍuvayal. These lands were converted into a Brahmadēya for 20 Brahmins learned in vēḍas and śāstra and with one share each and with 2 shares each to the Śiva and viṣṇu deities installed by Kaṇḍiya dēvar.[176]

From the evidence it is clear that homefarm lands were location in and around the capital, Madurai or where the king or his brothers had palaces and resided as at Tirunelvēli and Ponnamarāvati and Āṭṭūr.

The followed further inference can be drawn. The lands held under homefarm cultivation were usually granted on a lease, (*pāṭṭom*) terminable at will. When the land was transferred, the uḷavumudal (The paddy yield from cultivation) was transferred and not merely the land-dues therefrom. Also the lands assigned in one case are said to be of the highest assessment classification. If the latter could be an indivation of the productivity, the lands should have been of the best sort). But this was not uniformly the case as in another instance scarcity of water was noticed with the need for a baling concession.

Tenancies and subtenures :

So far, the land occupancy and its transfer have been dealt with. It was not necessary that the occupant himself need be the cultivator. Indeed a Brahmin or even a chieftain could not be. This is essentially basis on which a third tier of cultivation could be envisaged.

The Mahāsabhā of Rājarāja Cm distinctly refer to the cultivating tenants (uḷavu kuḍi) in the hamlets of the big Brahmadēya. They also declared that the lands cultivated by gardeners tending "Rājēndra Cōḷan" garden need not pay the land-dues.[177]

Various forms of cultivating tenancy can be inferred from the epigraphic data.

Kaṇḍan Ayyanār alias Nṛupa Śīkhāmaṇi Mūvēndavēḷār of Maṅgalakkal had endowed money and the reclaimed a land purchased from the Sabhaiyār. The Śiva brahmanas (priests) themselves undertook to the temple authorities that they shall themselves cultivate (that is by engaging labour) or cause to be cultivated (by inducting cultivating tenants) the lands reclaimed. From the proceeds thereof they shall conduct

the services.[178] Similarly the temple executives were charged with the duty to collect mēlvāram from specific fields and invest it in maintaining the temple tank.[179] In the 20th year (A.D. 1288) of Mār. Kulaśēkhara a similar assignment of the mēlvāram was assigned for deepening a new ēmbal Punyavātti ēmbal in Śivapuri and the mēlvāram was from specific fields.[180] In these cases the mēlvaram was earmarked for a specific public purpose, while the cultivating tenants under the temple had the Kudivāram rights.

The ubiquitous and, perhaps, favoured form of occupancy holding was Kudainīnga dēvadānam-when the occupancy was with the holder of the land, and the stipulated land-dues were to be raid the assignee-dēvadāna.[181]

The grantor himself sometimes stipulated the occupants who could enjoy the lands, and cultivate the lands.[182] In this case *kārāṇmai* rights vested with the occupant and the land-dues with the deity. Similar cases can be multiplied.[183] The chieftain of Ēlūr Śembinādu purchased from the Nāttār several parcels of land, and endowed the lands as *Dēvadāna* retaining with him the *kārāṇmai* rights. A purchaser who had endowed the lands as *Kudinīngā Tirunāmattukkāṇi* for Pidāriyār, a goddess he had installed and dig wells and consolidate the holdings. In consideration of his capital investment needed he was permitted to cultivate the lands, on a permanent occupancy (Nilaiadai) and pay for wet crops 1/3 mēlvāram and for dry crops ¼ yield and 1/8 for sugarcane and garden crops, brinjal and pumpkin (which were hypothetical having regard to the nature of the land).[184] A Kudinīngā dēvadāna lands was allotted to an occupant as condition that he held it on vāram tenure on a stipulated rental. The undertenants (śirukudi) had also to pay 1/3 of the yield.[185]

But sometimes the *Dēvadāna* land was resumed and the king or his men collected a share (*vāram)* of the produce. The temple suffered, and hence a regrant was made assigning the land-dues to the temple together with kārāṇmai rights. The temple had the double benefit of the land-dues, and the yield due to an occupant.[186]

In the case of the *vāram* tenure, the occupant stood to have an equitable share as the sharing was based on the actual yield. This was a preferable form in rainfed tracts and were crops were insecure. It should also be distinguised from the '*varisai*' form of levy where cropwise fixed rates were stipulated. It should not be understood that the *vāram* tenure was non-existent in the riverine and more fertile tracts.[187]

The pāttom tenure which was a lease was noticed in the tracts with assured irrigation. The Sabhaiyār of Rājarāja Cm had granted a land as *Kārāṇmai Dēvadāna* and this land was cultivated on pāttom tenure. In the pāttam tenure the occupant was assured of his portion of the yield while the cultivator bore the risk of cultivation

and even perhaps the cost.[188] Three *mā* of land therein were converted into maḍappuṟam for a Vaiṣṇava jeer (*ascetic*) who was looking after the temple.

In Tirumālugandān Kōṭṭai a purchaser Ōvāda Kūttan had purchased land and the king granted it as a *Kārāṇmai Pāṭṭom.* The term might mean the occupant-purchaser could realise a fixed lease rent or alternatively he had the Kārāṇmai rights and had to deliver a fixed quantum to the temple. As the intention of the purchaser was to provide for temple services and feeding the Brahmins he would have undertaken to have the purchsed land cultivated and from the yield deliver the stipulated quantum for the services. The lands were tank-fed.[189] When 15 *mā* of land was held on pāṭṭom tenure the right to enjoy the trees also were vested with the grantee-Bhaṭṭas.[190]

The cultivating rights were seen to be saleable. 5½ *mā* of Dēvadāna landheld by a donor had been compensataed with 10 *accu* for the change of cultivating tenancy (*uḻavu māṟṟi kuḍutta accu pāṭṭom*).[191]

The cultivating rights in lands could also be transferred as usufructory (*uḻavoṟṟi*) by the occupants. Four Brahmin occupants had made an usufructory mortgage of their land and this was redeemed by paying 1 *accu* in cash and the lands so released were endowed one *vēli* in extent for the subsistence of the bachelor devotees bending a garden for the Āṭṭāḷanallūr temple.[192] Redemption of usufructory mortgage of land at a cost of 13 *accu*, for 6 *mā mukkāṇi* and another 2 *mā* at a cost of 4½ *accu* and 150 kalams of paddy was recorded by a benefactor who instituted a service and helped the Dārukāpuram temple to pay the distributed levies payable to the Sabhaiyār.[193]

In Kalliḍaikkuṟicci, Nālāyiravinnagar Āḻvār had taken the reverse - *Irai oṟṟi* usufructory mortgage of the *Iṟai* yield from some lands in 4 *mā* of land. The king later remitted the tax-dues from 4 *mā* from the 10th year of Kulaśēkhara.[194]

Another peculiar instance is noticed in Tirunelvēli. When the Narasimha svāmi temple was consecrated in the reign of Vikrama Pāṇḍya, the Mahāsabhā of Kulaśēkhara Cm had granted 3 *mā* of land as Bhaṭṭavṛtti. But it was not enjoyed as possession had not been delivered and hence paddy was given out of the *Kaḍamai* dues of Ulaguḍainallūr. In A.D. 1209 the Mahāsabhā granted inlieu thereof. 2½ *mā* on land in Kuṉṟattūr, including *Kārāṇmai* rights.[195]

Finally, in A.D. 1333 Māṟ. Vīra Pāṇḍya ordered the grant of the following to a Brahmin Nārāyaṇaśarman Vīrapāṇḍya dēvan for the "*Bhōga kūli*" due from the king to the grantee. The lands being the holding of cultivating tenants (*uḻavarpaṟṟu*) in Sembināḍu under Purakulam, together with the lands the bonded labour (being) Harijans) in the outskirts (Puṟañjēri) (*Tīṇḍā aḍimaigaḷ*) were granted as "Śarvadāna"

or "*Sarvamānya*".[196] What is implied was that the grantee was entitled to the proceeds of all taxes and the land - yield and appurtenances together with the bonded labour.

In A.D. 1105, a donor had purchased as "*Uvacca adimai*", bonded labour for pipers service, and endowed the persons so purchased and their heirs to the temple in Karungulanāttu . . . a Dharmadāna.[197]

A later inscription of Ś 1347 (A.D. 1425) records Marudai Jayangondār of Neduvāśal had purchased from Korkai Kiḻavan one Ramādevi and her five daughters; and two grand-daughters, in all 8, to work in the temple of Narasimhīśvaramudaiya nāyanār at Angamangalam.[198]

Bonded labour could be purchased and sold and endowed. The endowed persons and their heirs had in perpetuity to render the stipulated service.

Later Pāndya inscriptions in Tenkāśi and Śrīvilliputtūr and surrounding areas refer to the occupant or the king receiving a levy called Āñjāli and it is also remitted when tax-free lands were endowed. What this term signifies is unclear and there is no circumstantial evidence except to infer that it was also a levy on land.[199] The actual cultivators were also Pallar ("*Uḻugira Pallanukku*")[200]

It is significant that as noticed elsewhere, the Kārānmai Kudigal (tenants holding rights of cultivation) join the Mahāsabhā or the Ūrār, the principal occupants, in making sales or gifts. This would imply that they were delivering possession of the lands freed of their rights.

FOOT NOTES :

1. SII XXIII/125, 126, 127 Pappānkulam (Mar. Kulaśēkhara I)
2. Āttur - Rāj. Kulōttunga I 442/1930.
3. Please ref. PDK Studies pp. 186
4. SII I/370, 371 Madurai
5. 100/1945-46
6. SII XXIII/513, 514
7. On Karpūravilai pl. see my detailed discussion in PDK Studies pp 219-227
8. 28/1929 Śivapuri
9. 423/1930 : Rājarāja I A.D. 1007
   471/1930 : Rājēndra I (3)
   443/1930 : Kulōttunga I, all from Āttur
   Also - 431, 435/1929-30, Āttur, Jat Kulasēkhara I (34th)

10. 415/1930, 419, 420/1930
11. 261/1980-81
12. SII XXIII / 507
13. 101/108, Tiruppattūr
14. 327 / 1923 Tirukoṣṭiyūr, A.D. 1278
15. For e.g., SII VIII / 458, Māṟamaṅgalam
16. SII VIII / 446, Māṟamaṅgalam
17. SII XXIII / 90, Kallidaikkuṟicci
18. 123 / 1905, Tiruppuḍaimarudūr
19. 525 / 1958-59; Also 422 / 1930 - Āttūr Kulōttuṅga I)
20. SII XXIII / 402 The inscription is damaged
21. 587 / 1926
22. 427 / 1930
23. 444 / 1930
24. 451 / 1930
25. 458 / 1930
26. 409 / 1930
27. 405 / 1929-30
28. 16 / 1928-29
29. SII XIV / 190 (Māṟ. Vikrama Cōḻa Pāṇḍya) (25)
30. 334 / 1916
31. SII VIII / 440 Māṟ. Kulśēkhara I A.D. 1284
32. 360 / 1959-60
33. 78 & 79, 84, 87 & 89/1916
34. 681 / 1905
35. 466 & 469 / 62-63
36. 471 / 1962-63
37. 307 / 1963-64 (13th century palaeography)
38. 608 / 1915
39. 315 / 1930
40. SII XIV / 197 Śērmādēvi
41. 363, 364 / 1959-60
42. 346 / 61-62 (Māṟ. Sundara I)
43. 593 / 1965 Māṟ. Sundara II - (4) (A.D. 1242)
44. SII VIII-460 Rāj. Kulōttuṅga I (A.D. 1100)

45. 362, 366 / 1959-60
46. Tiruvāḷīśvaram 368 / 1916
    Tirunelvēli 80, 81 / 1927
    Also, 391 / 1916; 393 / 1916 Mannārkōil; Also 44 / 1927 Tirunelvēli
47. 245 / 1976-77
48. The Cōḷas Vol. II Pt[1] p 430
49. 6 / 1916 Sugantalai Jāṭ. Vīra (11th year) Also 263 / 1941 Singikuḷam
50. Pl. see my "Rājēndravinnagar" pp 21-25
51. ARE 310, 311 / 1923 Tirukoṣṭiyūr
52. 54 / 1926
53. 50 / 1916 Tirukkaḷakkuḍi
54. 309 / 1928 -
55. SII V 248
56. SII XIV 206
57. 269 / 1928
58. 251 / 1941-42
59. 271 / 1941-42
60. 493 / 1962-63
61. Eg. 495 / 1962-63 (Māṟ. Kulaśēkhara) (30) (A.D. 1298)
62. 545 / 1922
63. 568 / 1922
64. 552 / 1922 Tiruttaṅgal
65. 566 / 1922 Tiruttaṅgal
66. Muḍikkarai B – 1977-78
67. 33 / 1931-32 Pāṇḍya Vīra (acc A.D. 1443)
68. 297 / 1923 Also, 295/1923
69. 107 / 45-46 Māṟ. Kulaśēkhara (7)
70. 199 / 80-81 Māṟ. Vīra Pāṇḍya (A.D. 1360)
71. 510 / 58-59 Vēlaṅguḍi, Māṟ. Sundara (5)
72. 103 / 1916
73. 75 / 1916
74. 65 / 1916
75. 117 / 1916
76. 271 / 41-42
77. 103 / 1916

78. 65 / 1916
79. This is specifically stated in a Tirunelvēli inscription SII V 422
80. The term land-dues is more appropriately used as there were a number of levies and varieties of services and hence have the term 'land-revenue' associated.
81. The render is referred to a detailed analysis of land tenures and sub-tenures in chap. 9 of my Pudukkōṭṭai Studies.
82. SII XIV - 245 Ambāsamudram
83. SII XIV - 250
84. SII XIV - 160, 161
85. 331 / 1916 The text is not available
86. SII XIV / 157
87. Ibid / 194
88. SII V / 428, 429 Also, 34, 37 & 40 / 1927
89. SII V / 411 Māṟ. Kulaśēkhara (8) (A.D. 1276)
90. 254 / 1928
91. SII XXIII / 109
92. SII XXVI / 479 Suttamalli
93. SII V / 294 (Jāṭ. Śrīvallabha)
94. SII V / 302
95. SII IV / 369, SII IV / 373 - Madurai
    564 / 1911 - Pulippaṭṭi
    476, 477, 478 / 1962-63 - Tiruvādavūr
96. 277 / 1930, 302 / 1930, 19 & 20 / 31-32 Aḻagarkōil
97. SII XIV/205 : Cōḻapuram (Śrīvilliputtūr Tk.)
    SII VIII / 348 : Tiruppullāṇi (Rāmanāthapuram Tk.)
98. SII XIV / 221 Jāṭ. Śrīvallabha (9th Year)
99. 39 / 1928-29
100. SII XIV / 257
101. 543, 544 / 1922
102. 568 / 1922
103. 545 / 1922
104. 554 / 1922
105. 572 / 1922
106. 214 / 1980-81
107. SII XXIII / 416 Periyakuḷam
108. SII VIII / 402

109. 397 / 1954-55 Jāt. Vīra (29)
110. 62 / 1916 – Jāt. Sundara
111. 302 / 45-46 Mār. Vīra
112. 45-46 / 1931-32 Jāt. Parākrama
113. unnumbered Jāt. Vikrama (4)
114. SII XXVI – 515
115. 110 / 1914
116. On this pl see my Pudukkōttai Studies pp 214-224 for a detailed analysis of the term its implications.
117. (18/1909) SII XXVI-28 Kunnakkudi
118. SII XIV / 204, SII XIV / 208 Kunnakkudi Also, SII XXVI-27
119. SII XXVI-25
120. SII XXVI-37
121. Ibid 44
122. Please see pp72-74 of my "land grants and agrarian reactions" for a clinching case
123. 546 / 1922
124. 298 1923, 304 1923
125. 333 / 1923
126. 8 / 1916
127. 564 / 1926
128. 470, 471 / 1962-63
129. 678 / 1905
130. 483 / 1962-63
131. 289 / 1930
132. For a detailed a/c of this tenure pl see my Pudukkōṭṭai Studies P. 269-281
133. 122 / 1908
134. 5 / 1926 Sundara Pāṇḍya (3)
135. 12 / 1926
136. 564 / 1926
137. SII V / 431
138. SII VIII / 462
139. 439 / 1929-30
140. 125 / 1905
141. 58, 60 / 1927
142. SII XXVI 483, 484, 485
143. SII V / 440-441

144. 593 / 1916 Jāṭ. Sundara (Mth)
145. 424 / 1906
146. SII V / 415
147. 62 / 1927 Also, 64 / 1927 Tirunelvēli
148. 64 / 1927
149. SII V / 422
150. SII V / 421
151. SII V / 419
152. 41 / 1927
153. 717 / 52-63
154. SII XXVI 494 The inscription is incomplete
155. On the interpretation of this term and the tenurial characteristics pl see my Chapter in my collected Papers (pp 53-60)
156. SII V / 408
157. SII V / 402 Also, 65 / 1927
158. 63 / 1927 Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān
159. 82 / 1927
160. 373 / 1959-60 Śrīvaikuṇṭam, Also 378 / 1959-60
161. 374 / 1959-60
162. 375 / 1959-60
163. 376 / 1959-60
164. The grant referred to in 373/1959-60 have been located in the village Udayanēri, a hamlet of Pālāmadai as the temple there has inscriptions bearing this name (ARE)
165. At my instance, the inscriptions in the Śrīnivāsapperumāḷ temple at Udayanēri, a hamlet of Pālāmaḍai revenue village were copied. A number of medieval Pāṇḍyan inscriptions have come to light (ARE 245 to 249 of 1976-77)
166. 463 / 1930
167. SII XXVI / 488, 1909 Most of the above were "Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān" grants and the ruler could not be identified
168. SII XV / 372 Perumnallūr
169. SII XV / 369
170. SII XXVI / 530 The village is located in Śrīvilliputtūr Tk and not in Sivagaṅga. Pl see -Vol I
171. SII XXVI / 50
172. Ibid / 512
173. 42 / 1931-32 Tirumālugandān kōṭṭai
174. 338 / 1959-60
175. Copied in 1989-90 Mēlanettūr

176. 68 & 73 / 1916 Tirukkaḷakkuḍi
177. SII XIV / p 73 footnote
178. SII XIV / 191 Āttūr
179. 58 / 1929 Sivapuri
180. 62 / 1929
181. For e.g. SII XXVI / 515 Cōḷapuram
182. 102 / 45-46 Śākkōṭṭai (Māṟ. Vīra) 14
183. 45-46 / 1931-32 Tirumālugandānkōṭṭai
184. 62 / 1915 Tirukkaḷakkuḍi
185. 220 / 1980-81 Talakkavūr. The inscription is incomplete and is unclear.
186. 397 / 1954-55 Kunnakkuḍi Jat. Vira (20)
187. A reference to a *vāram* holding of a merchant occurs in the boundary specification of a land in Kalliḍaikurucci SII XXIII / 97
188. 675 / 1916 Śērmādēvi, Sundara - (4+1) 5th year
189. 49 / 1931-32 Tirumālugandānkōṭṭai
190. 387 / 1960 Vēḷūr Kasbā, Māṟ. Kulaśēkhara (8)
191. SII XXXII / 92 Kalliḍaikkuṟicci, Māṟ. Sundara I (A.D. 1224-25)
192. 437 / 1916, Māṟ. Kulaśēkhara (8)
193. 582 / 1915, Māṟ. Sundara I (A.D. 1229)
194. SII XXIII / 111
195. 83 / 1927
196. 86 / 1905 Ūttarakōśamaṅgai
197. 280 / 1928
198. 365 / 1949-50
199. E.g. 106 / 74-75 Śrivilliputtūr
200. This occurs in 103 / 74-75. Añjāli is also mentioned therein.

CHAPTER - V

MERCHANTS TOWNSHIPS IN THE PĀṆḌYAN KINGDOM

The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom, extended from the foot hills of the western Ghats to the sea coast on the Bay of Bengal. It was the trade-route, for the valuable spices and hill products of the Cēra Kingdom towards the east. This usually took three routes - the first (via) Nānjilnāḍu and through the Thōvaḷa pass and the Southern Townships in Nāṅguṇēri Taluk and Rādhapuram sub-taluk. The second was by descending the Ghats, at Āriyaṅgāvu and then spreading into the plains via Tenkāsi, Ambāsamudram on the east, and Dēvadānam, Seithūr on the North. The third was the descent from the Periyār-Periyakuḷam hills and taking the route along Suruḷiyār via Śinnamanūr or another forking off from Periyakuḷam, reaching the Vaigai banks and proceeding to Madurai.

In addition inland locations of the merchant-colonies helped distribute goods carried on asses or headloads or on sling as **Kāvadis**. Naturally, a number of merchant-colonies had sprung up.

Towards the east coast, a number of roadsteads have been utilised all along the littoral from Tiruvādānai coast down to Kanyākumari. Here sea trade, and pearl fisheries too were active. We have evidence of community levies on the wares brought by different varieties of boat and those on the pearl fisheries.

The following account details of importance for mercantile activity gleaned from the inscriptions.

The evidence points to three or four distinct groups of the mercantile community. The first and earliest reference is to the Maṇigrāmattār occurring in an inscription of the 21st year of Parakēsarivarman (Parāntaka I A.D. 928)[1] In that year, Saḍaiyan Kavayan, a Member of Maṇigrāmam from Tenvāri nadu endowed a lamp service in Kuṟṟālanāthasvāmi temple at Kuṟṟālam, and gave 26 cows. Kuṟṟālam itself was located in the Tenvāri nāḍu.

The merchants of Maṇigrāmam also figure in inscriptions from Tiṭṭaṇḍatānapuram in Tiruvādānai Taluk, and in Śivapuri in Tiruppattūr. They are all ultimately traced to the group of that name in Koḍumbāḷūr, the capital of Irukkuvēḷ Chieftains in Pudukkōṭṭai.

In Śivapuri, a merchant, Arasu Madalaikūttan alias Śivakaruṇālayam purchased 2 *mā* of land and endowed it for offering pudding (pittu) to the god of Nṛupasekhara Cm. The donor described himself as Koḍumbāḷūr Maṇigrāmattu vyāpari a trader belonging to the group, Maṇigramam based in Koḍumbāḷūr. This was in (AD 1105)[2]

The Tittandatānapuram inscription is dated in the 11th year of Jat. Vīra Pāndya I (AD 1265)[3]

It records an agreement by Anjuvannam Manigrāmam Sāmanta Pandaśāli and others residing in the village promising to levy certain taxes on commodities sold or purchased to supplement the expenses of (sic) rebuilding in stone the ruined mandapa in front of God Sarvatīrthamudaiya nāyanār, commenced by Vadugālvār, daughter of Śivanēri udaiyār Akalanka Nādālvān, and daughter of Visayālaya muttariyar.

The Manigrāmattār of Kodumbālūr also subscribed to the community levies on various commodities of trade dealt with in detail below. This could be ascribed to the second half of the 12th Century.[4]

A Nagara is noticed in the township of Pampuli, adjourning Kurrālam. This was called Kāṅgēyakulakālapuram, and the Nagarattār were the principal occupants. Two merchants endowed a land as Dēvadāna in the reign of Jat. Vīra and the Nagarattār rendered it tax-free. TheNagara accountant attested decision of the Nagarattār.[5]

Mārandāyanallūr alias Vikramapāndyapuram was a Nagaram in Mulli Nādu. A number of individual merchants had donated cash or sheep for lamp services.[6] The Nagarattār as a body remitted the land dues on lands endowed for the deity, taking on the obligations themselves.[7] They also agreed to pay the tax due on an oil-press set up by a merchant of an Erivīrapatna. Among the signatories one Vikrama Pāndya Śilaisetti occurs.[8]

They also granted a dry land as *Dharmadāna* for maintaining two lamps instituted by a dancing girl. This was in the 22nd lamps instituted by a dancing girl. This was in the 22nd year of Mār. Kulaśēkhara I (AD 1290).[9] About the name time a merchant Kulaśēkhara Cakravarti presented certain silver vessels to the temple at Kurrālam and a deed was executed by the assembly.[10]

The Nagarattār of Vikramapāndyapuram also instituted for the welfare of the King Tirunelvēli Udaiyār, a service. They granted what they themselves had received. viz., 1530 arecanuts per month, and 20 betel-bundles (each having 200 leaves) per month which at the same rates at which the Brahmins in the township received it. The nuts and betel bundles were also apportioned among the Śiva and Visnu temples. The Chiefs of Vikramapāndyapuram and the Nagarattār attested the grant.[11]

The Tiśai āyirattu aññūrruvar was a far larger assemblage of merchants who had far flung contacts. A merchant belonging to this group had endowed a sēkandi (drums to the Ksētrapāla (Dēśivalanallūrdēvar) at Ūrmēlalagiyān.[12] They had a number of settlements in the Pāndyan Kingdom as in the Cōla and other dominions. In Rājarāja Cm. The big Brahmadēya township, a whole street called Rājēndra Cōlapperunderu

was occupied by them. A hamlet of the Brahmadēya, Mēlkuppāyakkuḍi was named Nānādēśinallūr. A number of parcels of lands were allocated by the Niyoga of the Mahāsabhā of the big township for a service to Tirumūlanātha deity for the merit of this merchant-group in AD 1032.[13]

A Tiśai āyirattu aññūrruva Kaṇkāṇi (Superintendent of the affairs of the merchant group) also figures among the signatories of a land-grant from within a Dēvadāna village of Tiruvālīśvaram in AD 1107.[14]

The Tiruvālīśvaram inscriptions refer more frequently to another merchant settlement within the big Brahmadēya called Rājarāja erivīrapaṭṭiṇam. It was also known by the street name Niccittakaṇḍapperunderu.

In the reign of Jat. Kulaśēkhara a donor from that settlement provided for the Kārtigai festival 1 accu which yielded interest at 5 *kalams* of paddy per year. If gingelly yielded in the summer crop (*kār*) the Śivabrāhmana who undertook the land-endowment agreed to pay cash at the prevailing rates.[15] Another resident of this settlement[16] also endowed 1 *accu*, yielding 5 *kalams* of paddy per year for the same purpose. In AD 1221 a resident of this street sold Appāṇḍānkuḷam for 120 *accu* as he was in need of liquidity.[17] An endowment made for Śivarātri pūjās by a merchant from this street among others, had fallen into disuse on account of the disturbances in the *Nāḍu*. It was restored in the reign of Mār. Sundara.[18] There were several other donors of lamp service from the same street.[19] A merchant from the same street gifted a stone slab for flowers to be kept and for making garlands[20] at Tiruvālīśvaram in the 7th year of Mār. Vikrama. (AD 1290). This merchant settlement was thus active for over 100 years.

In the southern hamlet of Kallidaikuricci there was another merchant settlement called Kṣatriyaśikhāmaṇipuram. Two merchants therefore instituted lamp services in Tirumūlanātha temple at Ambāsamudram.[21] (AD 1023)

The Nagarāttar as a body recalled their earlier grant of land, undertaking the obligation to pay Kaḍamai on themselves and made a Dharamadāna in AD 1192 to Nālāyira Viṇṇagar deity in the same place.[22] This merchant settlement was also known as Pūnāḷ[23] in which the King granted tax remission on lands.

In AD 1301 one Sokkan Vittagan installed an image of Tiruvīdi nācciyār Umaiyāṇḍār in the temple of (Nāgēśvaramuḍaiyār). Nālāyira Isvaramudaiyār. The Kaṇmāḷar residing in Kṣatriyaśikhāmaṇipuram agreed to measure 10 *kaḷams tūni*, padakku paddy for a festival in the month of Cittirai.[24] Kṣatriyaśikhāmaṇipuram had not only merchants but artisans and smiths among its residents, blacksmith, carpenters, and goldsmiths.

To the east of Rājarāja Cm was another big Brahmadēya Nigarilicōḷa Cm in Muḷḷināḍu in Uttama Cōḷa Vaḷanāḍu. (Sērmādēvi). In AD 1019, in the 3rd year of Rājēndra Cōḷa I the Mahāsabhā of the Brahmadēya resolved that they allot land to "their sons" (Nammakkaḷ) Tisaiāyirattu aññuṟṟuvar for their residential purposes; Uttama . . . . madapperunderu - to the east of the South gate of the township and Puṟamaṅgala vīdi, street. They gave the two rows (on either side) of Puṟamaṅgala vīdi. To the north of the gate in the same street excluding 5 house-sites of Śivabrāhmanās both sides and to the east of the northern gate on the northern side another street excluding the temple precincts and the gardens. They also declared that they shall not charge the merchant residents any house-site tax and the free feeding for various services or occasions. Any one who transgressed this decision was liable to pay a fine of 10 pon individually and the Sabhā collectively 100 pon.[25]

This evidence brings out the fillip given to merchant settlement in the reign of Rajēndra Cōḷa I, and the solicitude of the Mahāsabhā to provide for them.

Perhaps the new street was called Rājēndra Cōḷapuram. The Mahāsabhā sold a Dēvadāna tank and āyacut to a merchant, Tirunīlakaṇṭa Ceṭṭi of that Nagara on condition that he paid to the temple 5 *kalams* of paddy per *mā*, of wet and 2 *akkam* per mā of dry land and 2 *Kāśu* per *vēli* as the cultivating tenants (plough fee). This was in AD 1018.[26]

The same Mahāsabhā sold land to Parāntaka Niraiñjān, alias Tiśaiāyirattu aññuṟṟuva Daśamaḍi . . . . . Vīran who provided for a watchman to the Nigarili Cōḷa Viṇṇagar āḻvār.[27]

To the north east of this Brahmadēva was the old township of Māṇanilainallūr in Kaḷakkuḍi nāḍu. Close to it was the ancient Pāṇḍyan fortified town of Karavaṇḍapuram (Ukkirankōṭṭai). We have noticed the Nagarattār who stregthened the fortifications in the 9th century. Karavaṇḍapuram continued to be a busy merchant-township even in early times. A merchant therefrom Orungai Arangan endowed a lamp 30 palam in weight to the Viṣṇu deity at Sucīndram in AD 947.[28] Another, the wife of a merchant thereform, Rāman Ilakkuvaṇan set up a lamp and endowed 25 sheep for supplying ghee in the temple of Śīvalappēri in Kīḻkaḷakkūṟṟam.[29]

A Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscription at Mānūr refers to a Ilaiyan Kāḍan, a Valañjiyar who protected the township wher it was threatened with destruction. Below the inscription is the figure of a man holding a club in each of his hands.[30] Another figure is that of a man without stretched arms, of which the left arm holds a sword.[31] These should be the images of village Hampdens who saved the cattle and the township when same people from without had threatened its security.

A number of the Nagara Townships in which the Ayyavōḷe Tiśaiāyirattu aññuṟṟuvar resided had collectively made an endowment to the temple of Mānūr but the portion recording the contents of the grant is built in. It records a "Vīra sāsana". The grantors were full of great qualities and blessed by Śrīvāśudēva whose breast is adorned by Laksmi, and that they were issued forth from Mūlabhadra and were the children of Durga Paramēśvari of Ayyavōlē. Then follows a list of these merchant-townships of Tiśai āyirattu aññūṟṟuvar.[32]

Nadu	*Place*	*Name of the Nagara*
Tiruvaḷudi Vaḷanāḍu	Tirukkōḷūr	Ulōga cintāmaṇipuram
	Kaṇṇanūr	Karikālacōḷapuram
	Paṭṭaṇamarudūr	Keraḷāntakapuram
	Māṇavīrappattiṇam	Dēśiuttamacōḷapaṭṭanam
	Vīra Pāṇḍyapuram	Dēśia(yya)paṭṭinam
	Veḷḷūr	Rājarājapuram
Aḷagiyaśēkharavaḷanāḍu	Pūvēndiyacōḷapuram	..
Kīḷavēmbu Nāḍu	Śivacaraṇaśēkharap-perundēru (in Tirunelveli)?	
	Tirukkāmakkōṭṭam	
	Perunderu	Nūṟu-nūṟāyira dēsambi Deśiuyyavandapaṭṭanam
	Irājavallapuram	Cōṟuḍaiya Tinna
	Cenniṟakkarai	
	Śeḷiyanūr	
	Malaiyakulamāṇikkapuram (Śōṟuḍai Desiyapaṭṭaṇam)	
Kīḷkaḷakkūṟṟam	Maṅgalattu Puviru	Tenayyapaṭṭaṇam
	The same Nāḍu had more than one Nagara	

A number of "Nagaras" are noticed occupying several streets or habitats in Tirunelvēli. The time spread is from the 8th year of Rājēndra I (AD 1020) to the 26th year of Māṟ. Kulaśēkhara - I (AD 1294) - nearly three hundred years.

In AD 1020, a royal officer, Brahma Śrī Kiḻār enquired into the provision required for the services in the temple at Tirunelvēli. He noticed that the requirements of camphor and sandal and akil (for lamp) and mustard, pepper and turmeric, betelnut, gur and salt required for food offerings were being paid for in cash from the temple treasury. He ordered that in lieu of the payment of 22 *kāśu* as *Kuḍimai* to the King and 18 *kāśu* they received from the temple treasury, Kāṇi land Kaṇṇanūr, a Dēvadāna village measuing 5¾ (*vēli*) be granted as *Iṟaiyili*. This was granted to the Tirunelvēli Vaḷañjiyar who had to supply the articles required in lieu of the cast payments made earlier and now dispensed with. The articles to be supplied were.[33]

Per day

camphor	-	½ kaḻañju
Akil	-	8 kaḻañju for 1 lamp
Sandal	-	4 palam
For food offerings	-	mustard - āḻākku
pepper	-	Uḻakku 2½ śeviḍu

This arrangement could have secured stability in supply, insulating the quantities required from the price fluctuations from time to time. Also the commodities were not of local productions in the plains.

In the 21st year of Kulōttuṅga I (AD 1091) the King ordered that a merchant, Kākkūruḍaiyān Silēṭṭi (Śrēṣṭi) Uyyavandān alias Viḻiñattaraiyan of Rājēndra Cōḻa paṭṭiṇam in Rājarāja tennāḍu be assigned a land in Tottuvāymaṅgalam in Nañjilnāḍu, assigned to the deity at Tirunelvēli.[34] Apperantly the merchant was from Kanyākumari district.

The Nagarattār of Tirunelvēli sold land and undertook to remit the taxes on the land sold bearing the obligation themselves. A garden land under mortgage to the Queen lay to the north of the land sold.[35]

Another Nagara Śivacaraṇaśēkharapperunderu alias Śrīvallavapuram in Kīḻavēmbu nāḍu agreed to measure 10 *kaḻañjus* per *mā*, from out of the *Kaḍamai* in the *Kār* seasonal crop for 3 *mā* endowed by Śīyandēvan alias Kaṇḍiyattēvan for playing Iḍakkai to one Anavaradadāna Iḍakkaimārāyan an artist. The name of the township of which this Nagara was a part is not legible.[36] This was in AD 1216.

There were more than one *Nagara* in Tirunelvēli itself. One such was Tirukkāmakkōṭṭam alias Kulaśēkharapuram a Nagara in Tirunelvēli in Kīḻavēmbu

nādu.[37] A New deity, Āluḍaiyār Aḻagiyaciṟṟambalamuḍaiyār was installed by one Viḻuppādarāyar of Miḻalaikkūṟṟam in the temple at Tirunelvēli. He provided per year 3 *accu* at 1½ *accu* per crop. This yielded 19 *Dramam* at 13 *mēni dramam* per *accu*. The Nagaram agreed to pay it together with the *Antarāyam* proceeds they delivered to the temple, half and half in *kār* and *pisānam*, after the verification of the yield by the treasury officers.

The signatories to this deed were merchants -

Sundarapāṇḍya samañjitan

Sundarapāṇḍya Vāṇiyaccakravarti

Āḻvān Tambi alias Aḻagiyapāṇḍyamūvēndavēḷan

Uḍaiyār Tiruvayyāṟu Uḍaiyān alias Śrīnidhi (nadhi-Sic) cakravarti

Ambalavāṇa Piccan alias Armandapāṇḍya Śilaiceṭṭi

Samañjitan

Maṇḍalasvāmi

Śivapāḍa Cōḻa Śilai ceṭṭi

Vaṇiganārāyaṇacakravarti

Nagara Kaṇakku (accountant) Kaṇammūruḍaiyān

This was in the 15th year of Māṟ. Sundara Pāṇḍya. The date could be AD 1231 or AD 1253, as the case may be, if attributed to the first or the second ruler of that name.

The Vāṇiyanagaram of Suttavallipperunderu in Tirunelvēli even more active as seen from the inscriptions from AD 1235 to AD 1294. The Kāraṇavar (agents) for the oilmongers received 10 paḻamudai āñai accu current at the time.[38] They distributed it among 10 shares (Karai) who agreed to measure per day uḻakku oil by the measure. Anavaradadānan.

The signatories Kāraṇavar were :

(1) Māśilāmaṇi Namban alias Danmapōdiyarāyan

(2) Dēvan Magiḻan alias Nagarasēnāpati

(3) Śōṟan Kurundan alias Sundarapāṇḍyavānikayarayan

(4) Māśilamaṇi Piḷḷan alias Kulaśēkharadanmapōdiyarāyan

(5) Karunākara Sembiyadēvan alias Kanakapōdiyarāyan

(6) Sankan Arumaiāḷvan alias Ānandakūttan

(7) (Ki) varan . . . . . Sundarapandya vallarāyan

(8) Nakkan Māśilāmaṇi alias Māpōdiyarāyan

(9) Ponnambalakkūttan Koṟṟan alias Tiruvambalapiriyādan

(10) Sēvakan Bhaṭṭan alias Pārvatipāgan

Perhaps, the ten signatories had represented every one a Karai (share) of the oilmonger community that constituted the Nagaram.

The same Nagaram agreed to measure āḷākku oil for feeding the early morning lamp 1, and evening lamps 3, in all four, before the shrine of Jaṭādharīśvaramuḍaiyār to the north of Tirunelvēli udaiyar. The lamps were instituted by one Veḷiyāṟṟūr uḍaiyān Bhattālakanuḍaiya Nāyakan and Māśāttuvaṇikan cikkan of Śīvallavan Mudigal Bhūtamangalam in Madurai. This was, however, on receipt of the agreed price for oil to he received from the donors. Among the signatories one Samayamantri also figures.[39]

The oil mongers in the same street agreed to measure uri oil per day, on payment of the agreed price from Varadaṇṇadaṇḍanāyagar, an officer of the Hōysala ruler Vīrasōmēśvaradēvar and the scribes (Ōlai) of Maruṅgūr in Toṇḍaimandalam, Sūriyadēvan Kumarāḷvār, and his younger brother Kākayya daṇḍanāyakar and Irāmanna. This can be ascribed to the 11th year of Māṟ. Sundara II (AD 1249).[40]

The signatories have names similar to those noticed above.

In the 4th year of Jaṭ. Vīra Pandya, they received the agreed price, from a Malayāḷa Brahmin. Mēlmanai Nārāyaṇan Rudrapiḷḷai and undertook to measure uḷakku oil at the shrine of Tadarīśvaramuḍaiyār in the temple.[41]

Two years later, on similar terms they agreed to measure uḷakku oil, receiving the price from Mattikōḍu Nārāyaṇan Nārāyaṇan alias Vīramaḷagiyapāṇḍyadēvar from Malaimaṇḍalam.[42] The oil was to be delivered in the Piḷḷaiyār temple in Villavarāyanaḷḷūr in Mēlavēmbu Nāḍu.

The very next year a similar undertaking in measure uḷakku oil for shrine of Subrahmaṇya in Tirunelvēli temple was given to a Malayāḷa Brahmin from Malaimaṇḍalam, Dēvi citarapiḷḷai of Kunṟam.[43]

In AD 1294 the same oilmonger Nagaram undertook to measure uḻakku oil per day for cash received from one Aḻagan Ātkoṇḍan Danapālan for a lamp to be fed it the shrine of Pollāda piḷḷaiyār in the Tirunelvēli temple.[44]

In the same reign of Māṟ. Kulasekhara, they agreed to receive the cash due for measuring *uri* oil per day. In this deed all the eight signatories were strangely illiterate, and one Amarāpati Kāttān signed for all of them.[45]

In some fragments recently copied references are available to Tirukunṟattūr alias Sundarapāṇḍyapuram in Kīḻavēmbu Nāḍu and the Nagarattār therein.[46]

The Nagarams in Tirunelvēli were formed of the residents of particular streets, like Kulaśēkharapperunderu and Suttavallipperunderu. Distinct communities have occupied the particular streets; the latter was one of oilmongers. The community were not merely traders, but also producers. Indeed it was a producing and marketing community. But for items not of local production, like camphor, sandal and pepper, mustard etc. they should have been performing the functions of a market, buying them from beyond the western Ghats or elsewhere and selling them in the Pāṇḍyan townships. For this reason, they were best fitted to discharge the obligations of supply of these commodities or products cast on them.

Moving to the south of Tāmbraparaṇi river, Śiṅgikuḷam-Pūlam was a Nagara named Rājarājapuram. Here the community was one of resident occupants. The Nagara maintained ōḻugu accounts and granted as Iṟayili lands to the temple.[47] The Nagara granted as *Kārāṇmai dēvadāna* 10½ *mā* of land. The King followed suit remitting the taxes on the lands so endowed.[48] This township had faced a stress and strain in paying the tax demand of Śrītoṅgadēvar's chiefs. Viḻuppādarāyar, including Pañjupīli and Sandivigrahappēṟu in the reign of Māṟ. Sundara. They have sold lands, excluding an earlier grant of 1 *mā* for the carpenter attending to the temple works. They also ndertook to bear the taxes. Among the signatories figure Aḻagiyāpāṇḍyamūvēndavēḷān and Parānādittan alias Danaseṭṭi.[49] In the 13th year of Māṟ. Sundara the Nagara assigned a site for setting up an oil press (Śekku) for supply of oil to the temple lamps and for the residence of Puviranāyan. It was to the east of a well belonging in Aḻagiyapāṇḍyapanman, to the north of the second Prākāra well of the temple to the east of the pathway on the bank of the river proceeding north-south and to the south of the wall enclosing the house site of Kōdai Ādiccapallavarayan. The house site was sold to the temple but the Nagara agreed to bear the taxes. The same signatories as in the previous epigraph noticed above occur.[50]

A Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān grant confirmed the remission of the taxes on the land granted by the Nagarattār with Kārāṇmai rights to a dancing girl and the tax dues assigned to the temple. Among the boundaries occur Sēnāpati āḻvār Tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam

of Rājarājavinnagar emberumān cut of 12 *mā* of land the musicians were granted 6½ *mā* potter *kāṇi* washerman *Kāṇi*, in all 2 mā For half *vēli* of land the land levy was 15 *kalams* of paddy per *mā*. For lands raising summer crops it was one half. There were some lands under the New Tank sluice in Tidiyūr to the north, 2 mā of land which bore a higher land levy at 20 kalams per *mā*, and for summer crops ½ of it. Lands fed by the 5th sluice canal under Karuṅgulam bore 15 kalams per mā. and for summer crops ½ of it. On lands the *Kārāṇmai* rights in which were held by Narasingadēvan the total assessment for wet and dry lands was 120 *kalams*. The lands in which *Kārāṇmai* rights vested with Māluvaccakravarti and the *Kadamai* with the temple had a levy of 60 *kalams*. If there was a calamity of floods or heavy damage to crops the Tānattār of the temple shall inspect and on lands which had sustained crops the rates of levy shall be proportionately adjusted according to the rates prevailing in the surrounding command areas. The King confirmed the grant of land dues to the temple on the same terms as the Nagarattār had stipulated.[51]

It is interesting to note that Śiṅgikuḷam had a Jaina Paḷḷi. A general who figured in the campaigns of Mār. Sundara I. Oruvāruṇarndān Enakku Nallaperūmal alias Aṇṇan Tamiḷ Pallavaraiyar of Rājavillipuram had set up a shrine called Nyāyaparipālapperumbaḷḷi named Enakku Nallanāyakar. For providing for worship one Ādibhaṭṭārakan had purchased land from the Nagaram as Kārāṇmai Paḷḷiccandam.

On the supplication of the General the King remitted all land dues[52] and taxes and granted it as Paḷḷiccanda Iṛaiyili.

In the south-eastern extremity of the coast lay Puṛattāya Nāḍu. Pūśaṅguḍi alias Varaguṇapāṇḍya nagaram (identical with Rājarājapuram-corrupted now as Rādhāpuram) was a Nagara with occupants of land. To provide for daily offerings to Varaguṇaīśvaramudaiyār the Nagara granted a wet land 1 *mā*, in extent on which the *Kaḍamai* and the *Kuḍimai* dues were assigned to the deity. The Nagaram also undertook to themselves collectively discharge the obligation. This was in AD 1218.[53] A resident of the Nagara, Śēndan Vīman instituted a lamp service even earlier in the year AD 1199 (Jaṭ. Kulaśēkharan 9th year).[54] This mercantile township continued to the active even late in the 1570s when a new market was formed by an agent of Nāyinār mudaliār and others; it was stipulated that the market fees shall be divided in the ratio of 3:1 as between the Śiva temple and Aḷagapperumāḷ, the Viṣṇu temple.[55]

Aṅgamangalam, lay to the north in Tiruccendūr taluk. This was also a mercantile centre named Madurōdayapperunderu.[56] Later its name had been changed to Vīra pāṇḍyan Madigaimānagaram. The merchant community had provided for various services by levying a prescribed cess on the Commodities traded at 1/40 per paṇam.[57] A second grant by the same nagaram of the same kind on the shops set up was made in 32rd year of Mār. Kulaśēkhara I. (AD 1301)[58]

We may also notice some fragments of references available in other places.

Munanjupatti (Nānguneri taluk); A damaged inscription of Vīra Pandya's (4th year) reign refers to a grant of land for service in the shrine of Ayyāpolil Nangai i.e. Durgā.[59] Fragments from Pudiyamputtūr (Ottapidāram taluk) copied recently refer to Nānādēsi[60] and to Tisaiāirattaññūrruvar of Alagiyapāndyapuram, Uyyavandapattanam.[61] A third fragment at Vallanādu refers to Jayangondapāndyapuram which might have been a Nagara.[62]

Merchants from the Cōla country had visited the Pāndyan townships and endowed for services. In the 14th year of Rājarāja I (AD 999) a lamp was endowed in Tiruppōttudaiyanāyanār temple at Ambasamudram by a merchant Accan Uraiyan alias Cōliarāyanāyiletti of Kumaramārtāndapuram in Tiraimūr Nādu, on the south bank of Kāvēri river.[63]

Another merchant Vēlan Tērān endowed for a service in the temple at Āttur (AD 1007)[64] A third instance is a lamp endowed in AD 1094 on behalf of a merchant Tāli Duvēdi of Kulōttungacōlapattinam i.e. Manamēlkudi in eastern segment of Milalaikūrram in the temple at Māramangalam (Śrīvaikuntam taluk) a Brahmadeya then known as Cōlēndra Singa Cm in Parāntaka Valanādu.[65] A merchant from Pavitramānikkapattinam purchased land from the Mahāsabhā.[66]

The endowments made in the Pandyan Townships were not only for the Śiva and Visnu Temples but also as noticed already to nains and even Buddhist shrines or "Pallies". The term 'Palli' denoted also 'places of worship of other religions like islam and Christianity'.

The coastal roadsteads as Kāyal and Dēvipattinam and Pavitramānikkanpattinam that last in Kīlcembinādu, had been frequented by the Arab and the Moorish and the Egyptian merchants. Some of their tombstones are also available. [66A] The earliest tomb of a Sailor, Sayed Ahmed son of Saidullah is dated AD 1272. [66B] An even earlier grant to a 'Sōnakapalli' (a mosque of the Arabs and other foreigners) located at Pavitramānikkanpattinam in Kīlcembinādu near Tiruppullani by the King Mār. Sundara Pāndya II (in about AD 1248–49) has been recorded in the front gopura entrance in Tiruppullāni temple. It is to take effect that from the 10th year of the reign. The King was seated in the couch Malavarāyan in the bedchamber in the palace at Madurai.

The Śōnakasāmantapalli alias Pilārpalli . . . . . was located the east Pavitramānikkampattinam in Kīlcembinādu. It is interesting to note that the persons

in charge of the palli are referred as Alvār who had supplicated for the grant [135]. It was recommended by Anyyan Malavarāyan, the Chief under the ruler. The grant was for the construction (Tiruppāni) and for other services. The lands were in Śokkam Kārānmaikāni, who had occupancy right to the South of the Pavitramānikkanpattnandal. The earliest assignments of taxes and grants were excluded and the residue was granted as "Śōnakkappalli Śandi (iraiyali). [66C] The taxes remitted were on the oil press (Śekku) and the occupancy lands in Amputtūr four boundaries and the grant - content were antarāyam, viniyōgam in cash (accu) Kāriyyavārytchi, Vettippāttam etc.

The oral order was attested by Tirumallinattū . . . . . . Ūyyaninrāduvān Vīracōla dēvan, Kurukulattarayan, Sevvirukkainātu Śakrapāninallūr arayan Viradamudittān Pallavarayan.

The revenue executive order conveys 'Marudur lands, black soil, dry, housesite, garden, tank, tank water spread and other lands' together with the above mentioned taxes assigned, excluding the earlier grants for the 'Śōnakkapallisandi (worship) and for the maintenance of those in charge (jīvanam). The Pandyan official Viluppararayan, Vikramapāndya dēvan and Viradamudittan (Pallavarayan) referred to above attested the deed. [66D]

The term "Śōnakar" has been used to refere to the Yavanas (Greeks) and all those who came from afar from the west, from the Arabic, the Persian and the Gulf coasts as far as from Egypt. It may be noted that there was a vigorous commercial contact and horse trade especially during the period in South India which was solely handled by the Arabs. The roadstead Pavitramānikkanpattinam should be located on the Ramnad East Coast near Tiruppullāni.

We may notice a few later inscriptions on the South East coast.

The first is dated Kollam 563 (A.D. 1387, July 31st) from Vīrapāndyan pattinam (Tiruccendūr Taluk) on the east coast.[67] It gives the name of the township as Cōnādukondapattinam. A mosque the Jamādu Palli was named Udayamārttāndaperumpalli. The Khādi (Khazi) was also named likewise. A levy of 1/4 panam per 100 panam of goods imported and exported from the roadstead was assigned to the mosque. It appears to be in the nature of a royal grant by the Tiruvadi Chief.

The other two dated Kollam 668 (A.D. 1439) and Kollam 701 (A.D. 1525) are from the lands and Muttam near Kumari.[67A]

Two inscriptions at Muttam, in the fishermen's settlement about a mile north of Cape Comorin dated Kollam 668 and 701 are significant. They evidence the changing winds wafting over the pearl fishery coast and throw light on the sea-fishing that was an ancient occupation in the littoral.

The order of Kollam 669 (1494 A.D.) sanctioned the assignment of dues (*kaḍamai-vagaiyili)* from various fishing activities for providing oil (presumably coconut oil) for the lamps in the church at Kumari Muṭṭam.

The taxes so assigned were, the tax on maḍi valai (a kind of net or net used by fishermen in double catamarans) on every valai-valai (net used for catching valai on every sālai-valai (net for sardines) on every hump net (saṇal-valai) and on every boat (uru) laden with cargo for import or export 1 paṇam and 1 panam for every boat (valai virra sambān) sold. In addition the share of paddy collected as brokerage (net eḍuppu) and other customary dues (sutantriyam) and the share of the fish due (to the King) for the catches in that haven viz., at Kumari-muṭṭam, Kōvaikuḷam Kumari muṭṭam is on the Gulf of Manner lacing east. While Kōvaikuḷam is facing the Arabian Sea about 2 miles west of Kanyākumari.

Within the four boundaries of the area specified the King also exempted the taxes on left hand and right hand castes the military levies (paḍai-paṇam) and piri sanda kāṇikkai (a tribute on brought in cargoes for distribution on or these boats which missed their destination (?) and other levies.

These dues were ordered to be utilised for the paḷḷi (church) and for the services (?) (Odnikku) therein for all time. Stones were planted for the area so relieved of the obligations symbolising (sankētam) the grant. This order should be assigned in the ruling Vēṇāḍu king Ravi Ravivarma.

The dispensation of Kollam 701 (1525 A.D.) was that of Udayamāttāṇḍa varma. This recalls the notorious quarrel, violence and tyranny and black-mail and illegal confiscation of fish, and other activities in which the kuḍimakkaḷ of Muṭṭam Turai (fishermen) including elder Kankan and younger Kankan (i.e. the headman of the community) were involved. The king interfered and put stop this unruliness and gave asylum to fishermen to live there in peace. The first order was given in the reign of Ravi Varma, and the second in the reign of UdayamārttāṇḍaVarma. They were both solicitous to the fishermen who had been converted to Christinity by the Franciscan and the Jesuit missionaries and the Vēṇāḍu rulers granted several facilities to the Portuguese for trade in pepper. But these missionary activities posed a political threat as the Portuguese encouraged through the missionaries the converts to throw off allegiance to the native rulers and to swear loyalty to the King of Portugal.

MADURAI DISTRICT

Evidence of the Nagarams and trans-regional merchant community is available from Sinnamanūr, on the Śuruḷiyār belt and from Periyakuḷam. These being at the foot hills of the Ghats should have been active enterpots for hill produce moving from the west to the east, especially spices arecanut and also imports (like camphor) through the west coast.

A second segment of evidence is from the Nagaras on the Vaigai belt to the west of Madurai but close to the capital city.

In the 6th year of Jāt. Sundara the 18 Viṣayattār of the 4 Nagaras and their agents(Tarakar) met within the Tiruppūlāndurai uḍaiya nāyanār temple and assigned certain levies they made on commodities or products moving eastwards. That is to say the products moving from the western Cēra country eastwards to Madurai. They including cotton cloth, arecanut, pepper, turmeric and dried ginger.[678] The rates of levy were-

mā or 1/20 paṇam.

Cotton fabrics - 1 *kāśu*

Arecanut pepper turmeric and dried ginger (for more that padakku) consignments 1 kāśu (Mārppu)

In the next year (AD 1283) the Kīlaivattai 18 Viṣayattār the 18 viṣayattār of the 4 Nagaras and their agents or brokers (Taragar) met in Vikramapāṇḍīśvara temple in Śīvallavan paḍaivīḍu and provided for maintaining a garden for the deity in Tiruppūlāndurai nāyanār. The yield assigned is called "paṭṭaṇappaguthi" - a portion of the yield of the merchandise-levy. The levies were arecanut (load on animals or draught bulls) proceeding north (to Periyakuḷam)as and east (to Madurai) ½ *mā* paṇam or 1/40 paṇam.

Pepper 1 *mā* or 1/20 paṇam. The relative values as between arecanut and pepper is evident.

It is also clear that there was more than one division among the 18 Viṣayattār.[68]

About 4 or 5 years earlier (AD 1278-79) the 18 viṣayattār of 4 Nagaras met at the same place and assigned levies on merchants for repairs to the temple.

For arecanuts per one cattle-load	1 *mā* or 1/20 paṇam
For pepper	2 *mā* or 1/10 paṇam

For raising a western tower named after themselves levies on the commodities traded at the market in Uttamacōḻapuram, were at the following rates :

Rice per cattle-load	1/20 paṇam
Arecanut	1/20 paṇam
Pepper	1/10 paṇam

They assigned the following for the Mārgaḻi festival conducted at their instance.

On all commodities bought and sold in the Warehouses in the nāḍu 9 kani per

paṇam (1/160) of proceeds.

On commodities sold in the market, named Valangaimīkāmar Tirumaṇḍapam on the eastern side.

Or arecanut - per *podi* - 1/40 paṇam

Pepper per *podi* 1/20 paṇam

The accountant of the Viṣayattār signed the grant deed.[69]

The mercantile constituents were active even in AD 1309. An incomplete inscription refers to several constituents 18 viṣayattār of the 4 Nagaras 18 viṣayattār of the 18 Rājyas (Kingdoms), their Nāṭṭu ceṭṭis and Talaceṭṭis.[70] A second reference to the 18 viṣayattār of the 18 mandalams Cōnāḍu ceṭṭis Dalaceṭṭis (same as talacettis?) occurs in another inscription of the same year. The person who transacted business in the warehouses of Arikēsarinallūr and Śrīvallavanpaḍaivīḍu were to pay per 1 panam mundirigai (1/320) and those who sell or trade with them at the warehouses mundirigai (1/320) paṇam.[71]

Sinnamanūr was well located trading centre receiving the arecanut and spices from the western coast. They must have also traded in commodities needed in that coast from the plains to the east.

Reference to a Dēśīariya Erivīrapaṭṭanam occurs in an inscription at Periyakuḷam ascribed to Mār. Sundara I (AD 1235)[72] The deity himself was named Eripaḍaināyanār. There is also a reference to a tank constructed presumably by Rājēndra Cōḷa cilaiceṭṭi.[73] Fragments in Periyakuḷam refers to Padineṉ viṣayattār after whom the deity was named.[74] The mercantile settlement was in Alagangulam in Mēlneduṅguḷa Nāḍu.[75] That the place and the temple are identical with Periyakuḷam and Rājēndra Cōḷīśvaramuḍaiyār temple therein is clear from a Nayak inscription.[76]

Pāṇḍyan inscriptions in Kīḻkūḍalūr refers to Aññūṟṟuva maṅgalam.[77] An inscription recently copied from Kannāppaṭṭi (Nilakkōṭṭai taluk) records the resolution of Padineṉviṣayattār of 4 Nagaram to levy 1 *pudukkāśu* on the cattle loads of commodities proceeding east to Madurai and another ½ new *Kāśu* similarly levied. The proceeds of the former were assigned to Udayīśvaramuḍaiya Nāyanār and the latter to Kaṇṇuḍaiya Viṇṇagar (Viṣṇu temple)[78]

Further east, along the course of the river Vaigai were located Tenkarai and Vikramaṅgalam which were also trading centres. Both have extant evidence of their functiong from the time of Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha towards the end of the 11th century. A much damaged inscription in Tenkarai of the 21st year (AD 1111) refers among others to the Ayyapoḷil and Citramēḷi and Valaṅgai and Iḍaṅgai Śiṟudanam who have certain functions in the temple. The purport of the inscription is not clear.[79]

The King granted some lands to the temple at Vikramacōḷapuram.[80] (Vikramangalam)

Vikramaṅgalam is clearly referred to as Dēśipattinam, Vikramacoḷapuram in Kallaga nāḍu. The Nagaram assigned the *Kaḍamai* in *Dramam*. (15 *mēni*) 40 *Dramam* for the sandal pasts offerings and the clothing needed. This amount was the proceeds of the landtax from Śeṅguḷḷam ayacut.

The signatories to the grant deed were :

Tavan periyān alias Maśāttuvāyan

Nambimuḍivillada mudalvan alias Danapālan

Periyān Kuttana Nāyan Cōḷan

Āḷvan alias Amarakōn

Nadananan Koṇḍān Acakaiyanāyan

The Nagara accountant Bhuvanirāman cāṭṭamapiriyan.

The composition of the Nagara was predominently of merchants.[81] This was in AD 1211. The same Nagarattar 4 years later made a taxfree gift of 20 *mā* of land to the deity Madurodaya Īśvaram Uḍaiya Nāyanār.[82]

In the 9th year of Jaṭ. Sundara the Nagarattār who describe themselves as "Dēśipaṭṭanamāna Ayyāppoḷil Vikrama Cōḷapuram" sold an ayacut for *Irasipaṇam* 10000 to one Aḷagiya Ciṟṟambalamuḍaiyār a disciple of the Gōḷakirnaṭam (Kīḷaimaṭam) in Tirupparaṅkunṟam. They also showed a concession in the land levies recoverable which shall remain intact even if the Nagaram was charged a lumpsum lease amount or on crops that came to yield. They also charged ¾ of the house-site tax on the maṭha. The constituents who signed the saledeed were mostly merchants.[83] The same Nagaram in the 14th of Jaṭ. Sundara sold a piece of land to another disciple of the same maṭha Srikayilāyadēvan alias Śivadēvan as Iṟayili an ayacut in the western hamlet the Kārāṇmai was to be enjoyed by the said Śivadēvan but the Kaḍamai dues assigned to a goddess whom he had installed in the temple.[84]

Series of records in the Tirupparaṅkunṟam temple are of interest. In a record of Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara (15th year) the *Ūrār* of Kulaśēkharapuram sold land tax-free to the temple.[85] In a second record of the 3rd year of Sundarapāṇḍya the *Ūrār* of the same place gifted land to the temple.[86] But in between the 13th year 365th of Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara the King issued orders remitting taxes of Kulasekharapuram for providing offerings to a deity Kṣētrapāla; (Bhairava) set up in the temple. To this order was

appended an uḷvari forming Kulaśēkharapuram as a Nagara by clubbing together certain villages ordered in the 9th year.[87] Apparently a number of merchants had taken residence and the place being close to the capital should have picked up mercantile activity. Hence the change in the character of the township. It incidentally shows the constitution of the Nagara by a royal order. The text unfortunately is not available to verify if any special concession or privileges were extended to the occupants consequent on this change.

A fourteenth century inscription in Paḷani refers to a grant to a deity in Paḷani and the lands granted originally named "*Ayyapoḷil*" was changed to "Avañivēndarāman".[88]

The Nagaras in the Śuruḷiyār, Vaigai and Ṣaṇmuga nadhi belts were located in strategic centres that connected the trade land-routes between the west coast and the Cēra country beyond the Ghats and the plains to the east. The trade routes should have closely been along the roads on the river banks.

It is however incorrect to get the impression that the trading organisations were confined only to the riverine tracts. The evidence is equally available from the dry belts and the uplands of Rāmanāthapuram. It is possible to locate places of mercantle activity tracing to the north of Coutralam-Tenkasi all along the foot of the ghats and then turn eastwards into the Vaippar basin and then cross the black cotton region rights upto the sea cast on the east.

We may now turn to trace the history of these Nāyanārs located inthe Srivilliputtur Taluk and spread over the present Rāmanāthapuram dt.

The "Maṇigrāmam" connection dating back to Parāntaka's time at Coutralam has been already noticed as also the Nagaras or mercantile garrisons in the Erivīrapaṭṭiṇam at Ambāsamudram. Moving north on the foot hills region of the Western Ghats there were Nagaras at Seithur known in inscriptions as Semmaṟam alias Kulaśēkharapuram in Aṇmā nāḍu. Here the brother in law of Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara (13+12th year - AD 1215) Viradamudittaperumāḷ had installed a Viṣṇu deity Cēra nārāyaṇapperumāḷ. Land-dues were assigned and the Nagara accountant had signed the deed.[89] At the instance of this benefactor a *Kāraṇmai* gift was made in lands which bore assessment in the ayacut Nagarakuḷam in that Nagaram. The land-dues were made over as *Dēvadāna Iṟaiyili*[90] on half *vēli* in extent. The Nagarattār endorsed the grant and located the lands in Kulaśēkharapuram but carefully excluded 2 *mā* of land already granted to the deity at Tirumāliruñjōlai as a garden and 1 *mā* of land endowed to the Vaḍaperuṅkōil Uḍaiyān in Śrīvilliputtūr.[91] Among the signatories besides Amarakōn a Mūvēndavēḷān a Kulaśēkharapaṭṭiṇa svāmi Vēṇḍa vaḷandān Māṇikka dēvan Śeyyakkōn also figure. He was perhaps the Chief of the Nagara.

In the 15th year of Mār Sundara I (AD 1231) the Nagarattār granted the *Kāṇiyāṭci* rights in some lands as "*Pulamai Vritti*" (a service tenure for a poet) to a residence of Semmaram by name Tiruvudaiyān Dēvan alias Piḷḷai Cēra Kōnār.[92]

Cōlapuram to the north east of Seithur in the same Āṇmā Nāḍu seems to be a Centre for sale of cloth and had a habitation of weavers. A number of ūrs and their executives (*Kāraṇavar*) listed below resolved to pay per cloth sold 1/80 of a panam (*Kāṇi*) and this levy was also be payable by those who came from outside the places named and sold their cloth in the places mentioned. These urar who met were from

Kannudaiyaperūr

Mudivalangu Pāṇdian(allūr)

Muludumāykkudi

Irandu sōllādān, Cēturāmakkuricci

Kunrattūr

Sāmanta Kandan Vīrasinga Nallūr and Pāṇdya Devakuricci

The signatories were : Valudikōn, Pāṇdikōn, Aḷagaikōn, Valavakkōn, Sundarasendilairāman, Tamiḻkōn, Dēvankōn and others whose names are not engraved.[93] Even a command area in this Uttamacōlapuram was named Nānādēsi.[94]

Further north east in Venbaikkudināḍu there were the Nagarattar of Udayamārttāṇdapuram. There was a settlement or street of cloth merchants therein (aruvaivāṇiyaccēri)[95] in an inscription of the 19th year of Cōlan Talai Kōnda Vīra Pāṇdya. Another Nagara in Kuttāṅgadi is referred to in the reign of Rājarāja (AD 1007).[96] The Nagara Udayamārttāṇdapuram is identical with Kūttaṅgudi as is clear from a fragment.[97] A later inscription refers to the Nagarattar's grant of 1¼ *veli* of land and a garden to its east.[98]

Vānavanmādēvipuram was in Iruñjō Nāḍu. It was a part of the present Kundalakkōṭṭai. In the 21st year of a Cōla ruler the Nagarattār granted some lands taking on themselves the obligation to pay the land dues.[99]

Proceeding to the north east was Śeṅgāttirukkai idattu veḷi (Aruppukkōttai), a number of inscriptions of the reign of Mār. Sundara I refer to several streets occupied by various sections of merchants or other professionals. The oil-mongers resided in Pampali vilaṅkāpperunderu. They collectively agreed to sell daily a portion of oil pressed (*Nālvaḷi Ennainuttai*) per one gani receiving the price. The oil so sold was adequate for feeding 3 lamps.[100] There were weavers in the temple - appurtenant lands.[101] The

"Tennilangai Valañjiyar" (Valañjiyar of South Lanka) resided in Vikrama Pāndyan perunderu in the same place.[102] One among them Sēkal Sēvakattēvan alias Iluppaiyār Kilavan installed an image of a goddess. The Valañjiyars figured prominently in the Polannāruva inscription guarding the Buddha Temple there.[103]

The same benefactor also installed the image of Ilinga purāna dēvar.[103A]

There was yet another third street in the same township. Sīvalavan perundēru alias Dēśiāciriya (asraya) pattanam. A resident therein purchased a tank ayacut from the temple priests and the vendor was to pay 4 *kalams* per *mā* and 16 *mēni drama* ¼ on fields which yielded.[104]

This place was very prosperous. The "Nagaram" denoted not merely the merchants or traders but also professionals. They were residing in different streets or settlements in a homogenous groups. The Valañjiyars who had originally colonosed Śrīlanka were also spread in the homeland but were distinctly categorised as the Valanjiyar of South Lanka.

A fragment of an inscription recently listed[105] from Kamudi palaeographically dated in the 10th century gives the Praśasti of an organisation consisting of the members of the different guilds such as is *Nādu, Pattinams* and 32 *Vēlārpuram.* etc. It refers at the end to a number persons designated as Kavarai Ilañjingam hailing from different places. Tārangādi, Mānābharanīśvaram etc. This could be linked with the transmercantile organisations which assigned portions of their levies to the temple at Sinnamanūr. It may be the aññūrruvar mercantile body which usually sported this form of Praśasti.[106]

More information is forthcoming from Tiruppattūr Taluk where there were a number of Nagarams and from the east coast of Tiruvādānai Taluk and a later date from Sivaganga. The evidence yielded by these inscription is set out below.

The most important of these inscription is the one from Pirānmalai and it deserves detailed notice.[107]

The inscription has three parts. The first, the Praśasti in Sanskrit and Tamil which is found repeated or abridged in many places. It is reproduced in annexure I to this chapter. This is somewhat different in form though in its content it is similar to the detailed Praśasti from Mysore reproduced by Prof. Sastry in his "A Tamil merchants guild in Sumatra."[108]

The second part lists a number of Annurruvar Viz., 18 Visayattār.

(1) Ettai Vattai Edaivattai Kalir Tiśaivilanku Tiśai āyirrattaiññurruvar.

(2) Ērusāttu Erangusattu Tiśaivilangu Tiśai āyirattaññūrruvar

(3) Aṟṟaivaṭṭai Aruvaṭṭai Nārattarai Nalvāttarai Tiśaiviḷangu Tiśai āyirattu Aññūṟṟuvar

(4) Araṅgaḷ Tarangalir Tiśai viḷangu (Tiśaiāyirattu aññūṟṟuvar)

(5) Nāḍu Nagaraṅgaḷiṟ Tiśaiviḷaṅgu Tiśaiāyirattu aññūṟṟuvar.

Of these the meaning of 1, 3 and 4 is not clear. Item 2 might refer to the export and import merchants of the Aññūṟṟuvar with trade connections abroad. Item 5 might refer to the aññūṟṟuvar engaged in inland trade.

Then follows a number of Nagarattār

(1) Kēraḷaśiṅga Vaḷanāḍu - Aruvimānagara (Aruviyūr) Kulaśēkharapaṭṭiṇam

(2) Dvārāpati Nāḍu - Eripaḍainallūr - Vaḍamaṭṭai

(3) Pirānmalai - Pudutteru - Cēranārāyaṇapuram

(4) Kaḍalaḍaiyādilaṅgai Koṇḍa Cōḷa Vaḷanāḍu - Uṟattūr Kūṟṟam - Koḍumbāḷūr Maṇigrāmam Nagaram

.(5) (Kēraḷaśinga Vaḷanāḍu)

Tirukkōṭṭiyūr - Maṇiyambalam Nagarattār

(6) Kēraḷaśiṅga Vaḷanāḍu - Aḻagāpuram - Śeliyanārāyaṇapuram

(7) Ayyapoḻil Vaḷanāḍu - Kalvāyil Nāḍu - Sundarapāṇḍyapuram

(8) Kaḷavaḻināḍu - Aḻagaimānagar - Jayaṅgoṇḍacōḻapperunderu and Maṇḍaligai Gambhīrapperunderu

Of the 12 Nagaras, Jayaṅgoṇḍacōḻapuram Karuvūr Kaṇṇapuram, Pattali Talaiyūr Rājarājapuram, Kīranūr are specified as having met together with the above.

They claim that the temple tank the Maṭha and temple precints of Aḻagiya Tiruccirrambala Nāyanār and Mārgavagai tīrtha mudaliyār at the following at the foothills of Tirukkoḍuṅkunṟam in Tirumalai Nāḍu (Piramalai) were under the protection of the 18 Viṣayattār. They all hence met at the temple precincts and agreed on the Darmakarya to contribute the proceeds of levies on various commodities products they traded in.

The third part follows containing a schedule of levies according to the size or volume of the commodities or number of products. (Annexure II) This part of the inscription has been examined in detail elsewhere by me.[109]

The inscription is also significant in that it throws additional light on the signatory constituents (Annexure III) They commanded this grant be reduced to writing.

A similar grant by the trading classes of 18 viṣayam has been made to Tirukkōḷakkuḍi.[110] The inscription has been ascribed to the 14th century.

Śivapuri was a Brahmadēya named Nṛupaśēkhara Cm in Paṇḍya inscriptions but in an inscription of Kulōttuṅga - I (AD 1087) it was named Cōḷamārttāṇḍa Cm. Its western hamlet was Viḷupparayanallūr alias Āḷappirandanallūr Kūttakkuḍi. The Śiva deity therein was named Ayirattaññūṟṟuva Īśvaramuḍaiyār. A merchant from Iraṭṭapāḍi alias Danmapōḷil Kēttaneravi purchased a land from a Brahmin Mōśi Viṣṇu Jādavēdan.[111] The land was purchased by his father as Sabhā vilai (purchased from the Sabhā) and inherited by the vendor. The gift of land purchased by Āraśumadaḷai Kūttan alias Śivakaruṇaiyār a merchant of the Maṇigramam of Koḍumbāḷūr to the deity at Śivapuri (AD. 1105) has already been referred to[112]

Another Nagara in the same Kēraḷaśiṅga Vaḷanāḍu Ariviyūr was close by. It had merchants settled in Nānādēśipperunderu.[113]

In the 6th year of Jaṭ. Srivallabha (AD 1096) a merchant residing in that street Ariyalūr uḍaiyān Tillaināyaka Tarunēndu Śēkharan purchased from a Brahmin Mośi Sāttapirān Vāmanan land for which he who paid the price. A Capital amount was deposited with the Sabhā of the Nṛpaśēkhara Cm, the adjoining Brahmin township to defray the land dues from its proceeds.

The 17th and 18th year of King Śrī Vallabha inscription, however refers to Aruviyūr as Dēśiuyyavandapaṭṭiṇam. There was a Vināyaka temple for which 1 *mā* of land was endowed after purchase.[114]

An year earlier (AD 1107) a merchant from Dēśiuyyavandapaṭṭiṇam Tañjāvūr Kiḷavan Vaḍukan Uyyakkoṇḍān created a garden and provided for its maintenance 1 *kaśu* was the district to defray the cost of supply of clothings per year. He deposited 11 *kaḷañju* 6 *mañjāḍi* of gold as the capital for the purpose of supplying paddy and clothings.[115]

In the 24th year of the same king Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷan Udaiyanambi purchased land and a housesite for setting up a Maṭha at Śivapuri and named the maṭha after himself. The vendor was Seṭṭi Jātavēdan.[116]

A merchant of Aruviyūr deposited cash 26 Naṟpaḷaṅkāśu and another granted lands in the 6th and 9th year of Māṟ. Vikrama (Circa AD. 1096)[117]

In the reign of Mār. Sundara I (AD 1224) Aruviyūr changed its name as Kulaśēkharapaṭṭiṇam presumably after the ruler's predecessor Jāṭ. Kulaśēkhara I.[118] A merchant installed the image of the deity Dakshiṇāmūrti.

In the 10th year of Jāṭ. Vīra Pāṇḍya the Sabhaiyār of Nṛpaśēkhara Cm received from a merchant of Kulaśēkharapaṭṭiṇam (Aruviyūr) 12 Paḷaṅkāśu as deposit for defraying the land tax and dues to the township and another 7 Paḷaṅkāśu as the price for the land sold by them.[119]

Aruviyūr must have been a populous mercantile township. A number of grants were made by the residents to the temples at Śivapuri Caturvēdimangalam and elsewhere.

We hear of several other mercantile townships like Marudaṅguḍi Niyamam Vēlaṅguḍi and Aḷagāpuri from Pillaiyarpaṭṭi and Pirānmalai inscriptions.

A royal order is addressed to three merchants, Marudaṅguḍi merchant Kuṇṟan Udaiyān and others Niyamam Śōlaiperṟan and others and Aḷagāpuri merchant Vēdavanamuḍaiyān. This is dated 26th year of Mār. Sundara I (AD 1232). The three merchants had purchased land in Marudaṅguḍi and were paying land tax. They were asked to pay ½ Paḷaṅkāśu on the same terms as were already paid by one of the Aḷagāpuri merchants Adikāran on the south bank.[120]

Another inscription of Vikrama Pāṇḍya (12th year) refers to a merchant of Jayangoṇḍacōḷapperunderu who installed a goddess of the bed-chamber and provided for the food offerings.[121] The slab mentioned the "Kāḷaiyārkālan" being the name of a street (in the 10th century script) has already been referred to.[122]

A Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān inscription (10th year) refers to a purchase of land by the Nagarattār of Aññūṟṟuvan perunderu. The 4 *mā* of land was separated from the lands paying taxes in the *Nāḍu* but were to pay at the same proportion as those taxes separately.

The land so sequestered was renamed Rājanārāyaṇapuram which the Nagaraṭṭār could colonise.[123]

The inscription becomes more intelligible from the details see out in a record of the 18th year of Mār. Kulaśēkhara I (AD 1286). That is a title deed issued by the Adaḷaiyūr Nāṭṭār Kalvāyilnāṭṭu Kīlvagai nāṭṭu nāṭṭavar, Kīḻkuṇḍāṟṟu nāṭṭavar all in Kēraḷaśiṅga Vaḷanāḍu to the Nagarattār of Iṇām Kārikuḍi Aññūṟṟuvapperunderu. The latter had purchased earlier 4 *mā* of land from Marudanguḍi Ūrār. The Nāttār agreed to collect land levies in proportion at the rates in vogue in the Nāḍu.[124]

Aḷagāpuri referred to above was also known as Ceḷiyanārāyaṇapuram. A merchant set up the image of Tiruvambalapperumāḷ (naming the deity after himself) and the

same merchant Maṇar Kuḍaiyaṉ Poṟpatikkunāyagan Tiruvambalapperumāḷ alias Peruñcadirakkubērar paid also 70 Śōḻiyapaḷankāśu the interest on which was used for providing rice and other condiments to feed the new deity.[125] The merchant bearing the same name also set up an image of Dakṣināmurti who was to be offered food at 2 *nāḻi* per day[126] and also the image of Tiruvādavūr Nāyanār Mānikkavāśagar[127] in Jat. Vira Pandya's reign.

Vēlaṅguḍi in Pūṅguṉṟa Nāḍu a Vāṇiyanagaram. The residents therein gave a grant of Pādikāval dues to the deity. The merchants residing and trading in the temple precincts paid 2 *kāśu* per year. They also levied a cess on the commodities sold - like pepper arecanut at 2 *kāśu* per podi paddy 1 *kāśu* per podi, rice 2 *kāśu* per podi (load) cotton 2 *kāśu* per podi 1 *kāśu* per podi of salt. This was at the request of the Chiefs and the Ūrār of Vēlaṅguḍi. The oil mongers of the place agreed to give 1 Kaṭṭi of piṉṇākku (gingely dry cakes) per piḷavu. (i,e, per 1 unit of oil per extracted in the press). The term "Vāṇiya nagaram" should refer to the professionals of oil mongers and the traders.[128]

The merchants had also the obligation to pay a fraction of the sale proceeds of commodities measured by (liquid or grain measure) and those weighed in balance and those counted in number. These dues were taken on lease (pattom) in auction Kaḷavaḻināḍāḻvan in a grant transferred these dues payable to him by the merchants to the temple of Sūradēva Īśvara.

For those measured	- 1 nali per kalam (1/96)
For those taken and weighed	- 1 palam for 1 weighment
For those counted	- 1 per 100

These rates shall be collectable in all places where the weighing balance or measure is used - i.e. in all market-places.[129]

Gifts by individuals are also noticed as in Pāganēri (sivagaṅgai Taluk). A merchant from Māthūr alias Vīra Pāṇḍyapuram in Perumbū Nadu. Maṇiyanallūr uḍaiyān Pāṇḍya perumāḷ alias Vanigapura Nagarattār excavated an ūraṇi and provided for its maintenance. Apparently it was a drinking water source.[130] The king received a brokerage fee (on trade) in a merchant street that in Pāganēri which he assigned to the Kaṇḍadēva Īśvaramuḍaiyār temple at Pāganēri.[131]

Fragments of inscription with the Praśasti of Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara refer to a Nagaram of Kaḷā nilai.[132]

Tirukkoḷakkuḍi was a sacred place held in veneration by several surrounding

Nāttārs. A Nagara settlement in their township named Sundarapaṇḍyapperundēru seems to have existed. An undated inscription refers to the benefactions done by the Nagarattār of Sundara Cōḷapuram alias Dēsiugandapaṭṭaṇam in Tenkōnāḍu in Ollaiyūr Kūṟṟam in Kaḍalaḍaiyātilangai koṇḍa cōḷa Vaḷanāḍu (in Pudukkōttai district) In recognisation of their services the temple authorities authorised some honours to them during the 7th day festival.[133] The Padinen viṣayattār, the merchant community made a levy on mercandise on communities articles like salt, turmeric dried ginger and made a grant of the proceeds in cash. This was also a benefaction of Sundaracōḷapuram.[134] In S 1377 - (AD 1455) - a merchant from Iḷayāttakuḍi alias Kulasēkharapuram installed an image of Candrasēkhara.[135]

An individual merchant from the same place reinstated a new idol of the Goddess as the earlier one had become worn out (Irandu pōgayil). The Nagarattār in the Sundarapāṇḍya big street in Tirukkōḷakkuḍi and the temple authorities honoured the benefactor. It is clear that Tirukkōḷakkuḍi itself had a street of merchants.[136] Further benefactions by the merchants of Sundaracōḷapuram are noticed[137] in Tirukkaḷakkuḍi which was an important centre.

Benefactors from Ilayāttākudi (Kulasēkharapuram alias Kāḷaiyārkālapperunderu) also renovated at Kaḷaiyārkōil the kitchen which get damaged and the walls were demolished during the Muslim incursions in S 1433-AD 1511)[138]

The merchants of Ēḷagapperunderu alias Vīrapāṇḍyapuram also had a share in rebuilding the Kaḷaiyārkōil temple.[139]

Kaḷanivāyil itself was a residential location of the merchants and named Srivallavapuram even in an inscription of Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha. (AD 1101) A merchant of the place purchased lands in Siṟṟattūr and endowed them for food offerings for the deity at Uñjanai Māḷavacakravartīsvaramuḍaiyār.[140]

An inscription at Tittaṇḍatānapuram dated AD 1264 in the reign of Jat. Vīra Pandya is significant. It records an agreement by the Añjuvaṇṇam Maṇigramam, Sāmatapaṇḍasāli and others residing in the village promising to levy certain taxes on the commodities sold and purchased to supplement the expenses of rebuilding in the temple of the deity Sarva tīrtham uḍaya Nāyanār. The work had been commenced by Vaḍugālvār the daughter-in-law of Sivanēri uḍaiyār Akaḷanka Nāḍāḷvār and the daughter of Vijayālaya Muttaraiyar.[141] The reference to Añjuvaṇṇam and Maṇigrāmam which were ancient trading organisation extending to overseas trade is significant. Its occurrence in a village on the Tiruvāḍānai coast on the east is quality important.

Dēvipaṭṇam was known as Ulagamādēvipaṭṇam. It had another name

Śrīlaṅgōmaṅgalam in Sevviṟukkai Nāḍu. A number of inscriptions from the time of Māṟ. Sundara II (AD 1238-1251) attest the existence of the mercantile residents here who constituted the Nagara. A benefactor had purchased lands from the Nagarattār and endowed it for food offerings to a new deity installed by him. On the supplication of the Sivabrāhmanās the King rendered the lands tax-free besides granting the land proceeds of several other villages in the two *Nāḍus* in Koḻuvūr Nadu and in Iḍaikuḷa Nāḍu (AD 1244).[142]

This deity is described as the lord of Bhogīśvaram Sēthumūlam (on the highway to Sethu - i.e. Ramēsvaram) in the sea-shore or beach (Siṟukaḍaṟkarai in Sevvirukkai Nāḍu. In the 4th year of Jat. Vikrama a significant grant was made by order of the King.[143] It consisted of the tax proceeds from within Pirakkuḍi alias Śīvallavapaṭṭaṇam shore and the roadstead (Kāriyam, Tiraiyum) i.e. the beach and the landing place. Besides the usual land tax. Kaḍamai and antarāyam payable in cash other tax proceeds were from the following :

Ponvari	- Tax in cash; coinage fee.
Kaikāṇi	- An offering for the King's officers for transcribing orders.
Kaitīṭṭu	- An offering for written or attested orders.
Paḍipaccai	- Vegetables, green prescribed per day.
Viniyōgam	- Distributed levies
Ugavai	- Presents contributed on auspicious occassions
Peruvari	- Major taxes
Tiruveḻucci	- Offerings at the time of the King's visit.
Tiruabhiśēka ugavai	- Presents at the time of coronation.
Kaṟpūravilai	- commuted land levy.
Kāriyavārāycci	- Court fee.
Kuṟṟattanḍam	- fines levied for crimes investigated or detected.
Pañjupīli	- On cotton produce.
Sandivigrahappēṟu	- levies for war and peace;
Veṭṭimuṭṭavāl	- Corree or free labour
Eccōṟu	- feeding messengers of the King, Nāḍu, etc.

Kūṟṟarici	- Fee on hulling paddy.
Iḍaitturai	- Cash levy, the imprtance of which is not clear - a professional levy on sheepbreeding ? cattle ?
Sekkiṟai	- Tax on oil - pressing gunny
Taṟiyiṟai	- Tax on looms.
Taṭṭolippāṭṭam	- Tax on Smithies
Turaival ēruvana	- On commodities loaded on to the boat.
iṟaṅguvana, eḍuppana	- On commodities unloaded or hand-lifted
niṟuppana, virippana	- on weighments or cloth, spreads
piḍippana, aḷappana	- On containers or liquid measures or measured
mugappana	- a measure of capacity (mukattal)
Aḷugaṟ carakku	- Perishables
Aṅgāḍippāṭṭam(included)	- Tax on shops
pāṭṭom	- (all leases or auction or rentals)
Siṟṟāyam	- minor taxes
Pērāyam	- Major taxes
Māyiṟai	- Tax on trees (Mava irai)
Tala oppu	- head loads levy ?
Madi māda vari	- monthly levies or levies per one lunar cycle - or on fishering nets ? maḍi
Tōṇikkaḍamai	- The tax on boats.
Keḍupādai	- Obligation to maintain roads in repair.
Maramasa sadi vilai (Maramaccādivilai)	- The tax on catamarans and fish catch
Paḍuvāram	- Tax for exchange of lands
Sanattupprapti	-
(Kānāṭṭupprāpti)	- Levy for planting poles (Kalnāṭṭu ?)

(Kānāttuppprāpti)

Unlike the community levies this is a royal grant of dues payable to the King. The individual import of such levies is not clear. But from the sense as far it could be made out, they have been rendered above.[141]

This list though long can be classified under the following heads :

(1) Land levies

(2) Levies on professions

(3) Levies on trade and mercandise

(4) Levies on fish catch and boats

(5) Occasional obligations and services

(6) Presents on auspicious occasions

(7) Court fee for enquiry; fines leviod for crimes investiaged

(8) Levies on yield of crops, greens and cotton etc.

(9) Miscellaneous

As against the royal grant of tax proceeds above, in the 3rd year (?) of Mār. Kulasekhara I (AD 1271) the Nānādēśis met at the entrance gate or in front of the temple of Bhogīśvarar (which was here named as Sundarapā(ṇḍya paṭṭaṇam ?). They resolved to remit to the deity for the entrance named after the Nānādēśis proceeds of the community levies :

At this roadstead and all roadstead they the Nānādēśis frequent for a smaller ship (*siṟṟuṟu*) ½ for a boat ¼ *panam*, They also proceeded to specify levies on those who moved the cargoes loaded on to the vessels-

cloth - 1 bundle - 1/8 paṇam

arecanut, pepper and other condiments (Karuñcarakku)

For cargoes of other mandalams - also these levies shall apply. For one head load 1 *mā* 1/20 *panam*.[145]

Devipaṭṭaṇam was a much frequented roadstead and the Nānādēśis embarked and disembarked therefrom. They have made a voluntary levy for the entrance to the temple they had built and maintained and named after themselves.

Finally, Kīḻakkarai was another roadstead where pearl fishers was active. The inscriptions of the 16th century refer to the "Padineṉ viṣayattār of the 4 ports" making contributions from the levies made on pearl-fishing. Though they belong to a later date, the evidence is valuable and gives an idea of the levies on pearlfisheries.

In S' 1453 (AD 1531-2) the 18 viṣayattār of the 4 ports decided to forego the levy on pearlfishing payable to them (?) Kuḻi - muttu vēṇḍām enru Karpittu) instead they decided that those who sold pearls at Kīḻakkarai shall pay ½ *paṇam* per 100 pearls for the repairs and services to the Vināyagar temple.[146]

Fourteen years later (AD 1545-46) the Nayak chief, Tummusi Nāyakkar granted to the 18 viṣayattār of Ninaittadu Mudittān Paṭṭiṉam (Kīḻakkarai)[147] A Sarvamānya except that they pay Maḍiccīlaivari on (fishing nets) and Kāval. (watch and way)

This was to be in vogue together with the Mānya (grant) called "ceṭṭu".[148] The purport of this is not clear. Presumably the traders were freed from obligations other than those specified.

A SUMMING UP

The Paṇḍyan Kingdom was studded with Nagaras habitats of merchants. But the Nagarattār did not only denote inland traders but merchants who traded overseas. The term donoted manufacturers like oil mongers (vāniyar) and other productive agencies including pearlfisheries.

Three categories of the Nagarattār can be distinguished. The Nagarattārs who were resident and had land occupancy undertaking collective responsibilities for land settlement, sales and collection of land-dues to the King. In these respects they were functioning in the same manner as the Ūrar. Indeed some Ūrs had deliberately changed their character into a Nagara and indications are that the King had granted such a change. It is hence found that some of the Nagaras had a mix of the agricultural occupants of land together with merchants who also had land-holdings.

The second category noticed were the Vaḷañjiyar or Erivīrapattinam. They were soldiers and guardsman who escorted caravan or traders moving from place to place. But they were also resident in specified locations but were mobile. The Valañjiyars were perhaps closely allied to "Vira banaju" in Kannada areas. They had been engaged also as mercenaries to guard temples monasteries and in Srilanka the Buddhist shrines.

The third category were the Aññūṟṟuvar or Maṇigrāmam or the Nānādēsis and as one late inscription refers the Añjuvaṇṇam. These were not only inland traders but also sea faring carrying mercandise. The articles of trade were mostly cloth and

spices and camphor and sandal or akil. To this group can be added the horse traders of the Malai mandalam and the traders in gems and precious stones from the western India.

From the data adduced above, it is noticed that there was more than one Nagara in a Nāḍu or Vaḷanāḍu. Kēraḷasiṅga Vaḷanāḍu had several such Nagaras being the concentration of the Nagarattar community which extended to Kāṇa Nāḍu or Kaḍaladaiyādu ilangai Koṇḍa cōḷa Vaḷanāḍu (In Pudukkōṭṭai), Tiruvaḷudi Vaḷanāḍu, Kīḻa Vēmbu Nadu had each several Nagaras within. The statement of Kenneth R. Hall that "there was one Nagara for each Nadu" would hence require revision.

A striking feature is that the Vāṇiyar and other professionals resided in one street and that was named as Nagara. There was homogeneity in the composition of the residents and it helped serve the identity of interest they shared. It also enabled them undertake collective responsibilities and act as an organised body of producers. They acted through their executive agents the Kāraṇavar or Samuñjitan. The Chief of the Paṭṭaṇam (mercantile township) was Paṭṭiṇasvāmi. We notice some of them signing the Samaya-Kāryam, the collective community-decisions. The share of the community levy assigned for charitable purposes was "Paṭṭiṇapagudi - a proportion of the levies on articles of merchandise.

Trade was brisk between the west coast and the eastern plains. Many of the Nagaras were entrepots situated at the foothills where the commodities arrived and then moved eastwards to Madurai or Tirunelvēli and other places. This is illustrated by the Nagaras situated all along the Western Ghats and especially where there were passes as at Thovaḷa the Āryaṅkāvu in and near Periyakuḷam besides Paḻani.

The Nagará community had sections within such as Śilai Ceṭṭis, Danmaseṭṭis but the basis of this distinction is not clear. We notice elsewhere Brahmaseṭṭis but they are hard to come by in this tract.

Even among Tiśaiāyirattu aññūṟṟuvar as noticed above, there were five categories that the specific impact of anyone of them is not clear. The 18 viṣayas continue to be cited even in the 16th century inscriptions. That they were spread over the entire Cōḻa and the Pāṇḍyan Kingdoms and had continued to carry on their trade unaffected by the political changes is quite evident. Even Maṇigrāmam for instance, which has figured in an inscription of Parāntaka I at Coutralam is a party to an agreement of the 13th century at Tittāṇḍatānapuram.

We have greater evidence available about the functioning of the Nagara in the land administrations and its contributions to the economy of the temples within in particular. They assiduously assigned lands for reclamation. They constructed tanks for

irrigation for bringing the land under wet cultivation and extension of such cultivation They also constructed *Ūrams* or drinking water ponds in the townships, especially in the dry red lands of the Sivagangai-Tiruppattūr Tract.

The Littoral in the Ramnad coast and in Tirunelvēli had a number of roadsteads ships big and small frequently visited these roadsteads. The merchants, importers and exporters buyers and sellers agreed to contribute a fraction of their saleproceeds for charitable purposes and maintenance of temples or public utilities. This generous contribution of collective levies extended to the maintenance of services in Jaina Pallis, to Islam mosques and to the Christian churches of the later times.

ANNEXURE - I

TEXT OF THE PRASASTI

'ŚRĪ BHŪMI DĒVI PUTRĀṆĀM KṢĀRAKSĒROTHA PŪRVIṆAM JAYANTI CĒTRALŌKĀNĀM RĀJYA PARIPĀLAKĀNAM

SARVALŌKA HITĀRTHĀYA CITRAMĒḶI ŚĀSANAM

TRIBHUVANĀŚRAYA BHANDU ŚATAVĪRAŚĀSANAM LAKṢAṆA LAKṢMĪ VILĀSALANKṚTA VAKṢASTALA BHUVANAPARĀKRAMAM ŚRĪ VĀSUDĒVA SAHĀYAKAM DĒVĪ MŪLABHADRA LŌKHA ŚRĪ AYMPOḺIR PARAMĒSVARIKKUM BHŪMIDĒVIKKUM MAKKAḶĀGI NILAGALĀMIṆRA MADICŌDA PONGU MĀDAVĪDI PADINEṬṬU PAṬṬAṆAMUM, 32 VALARPURAMUM 64 KAḌIGAI TĀVAḶAMUM TĀVAḶATTIRUNDU TANMAI VAḶARKUÑ CĒṬṬIYUN, CEṬṬI CIṞAPPUḌĀNUM, TAVAMONṞILLĀDA TANMAYYOḶUKKATTU, KAVARAI TANNOḌU KĀŚYAPAN VIḌUTTA CĀMUṆḌĒŚVARIYUM, URUTTIRAN VIḌUTTA ŌLAI VARIYANUM UNNIYADU MUḌIKKUM ONḌIRAL VĪRAR PANNIRUTARATTU PANISEY MAKKAḶUM MUNNIYĀGA MAḶAVOLIVALARKKUM MUTTAMIḺ PĀḌALŌḌĀḌA LO VĀ VIḶAVUM VĒḶVIYUM, VILANGIYA VĪḌIYAḌAI TENGUM PAḶĀVUM, TĒMĀÑJŌLAIYUM CANDANAVĒLI CAṆBAGA POḶILUM, VĀḶAIYUM, KAMUKUM VALARKOḌIMULLAIYUM, PŪVAIYUM, KIḶḶAIYUM, POLIVOḌU ŚŪḶA VĀṬṬAMINṞI KŪṬṬAM PERUGA AṞAM VAḶARA, KALIMĒVIYA PUGAḺ PERUKAPPAGAI PAṆIYA TISAI ANAITTUM SEVIḌUPADAR CENGŌLĒ MUNNAKARUÑ CEMBOR PASUMPAIYE DEIVAMĀGIYUM, KṢAMAIYENŌḌUM, KARUṆAIYEYDA SAMAYATANMAI INIDU NAḌĀTTI NIKATANIṆRA NĀNGU TISAI SAMASTALŌKA PADINEṆVIṢAYATTŌMUM' ETC.

ANNEXURE - I

A table of the commodities traded and the rates of levy fixed by the community regulation for Pirānmalai Temple Endowment :

	Commodity	(Vaṇḍi) Load (Cart Load)	Pothi	Pakkam	Head Load
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
			(all in *kasu*)		
1	Salt	10	1	½	½
2	Paddy	10	1	½	—
3	Rice	20	2	1	—
4	Greengram	20	1	½	—
5	Pulses	20	1	½	—
6	Castor-oil seeds	10	½	½	—
7	Arecanut	—	4	2	—
8	Pepper	—	5	2½	—
9	Turmeric	—	3	1½	—
10	Dried Ginger	—	3	1½	—
11, 12, 13	Garlic, Mustard, Cumin Seeds	—	2	1½	—
14	Kadu pelli Tanduri (Myrobalam)	—	1	½	—
15	Iruppu (iron)	20	2	1	—
16	Cotton	10	12	1	½
17	Yarn	20	5	2½	2
18	Coarse cotton cloth	—	10	5	—
19	Fine cloth	—	20	5	5
20	Ulaṇḍu pīli (dried medicinal herb) (K.V.S. Iyer takes it to mean a kind of thread)	—	—	—	5

	Commodity	(Vandi) Load (Cart Load)	Pothi	Pakkam	Head Load
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
			(all in kasu)		
21	Wax	—	10	5	4
22	Honey (per pot)	—	4	—	—
23	Gingelly	—	4	2	1
24	Rough silk or hessian (Koni kai pattu)	—	2	1	1
25	Sandal	—	30	—	—
26	Akil (per load)	—	—	30	—
27	Silk and cotton (per load)	—	—	30	—
28	Rose-water (per pot)	—	—	30	—
29	Wig (per load)	—	—	30	—
30	Camphor oil (per load)	—	—	20	—
31	Sāndhu, civet, Jawadu (per horn) (Perfume applied to forehead)	—	—	15	—
	(For the last six itemsm for head loads : ¾ of the Pakkam rates)				
32	Draft bull — Kāsu 2				
33	Horse — Accu ¼				
34	Elephant — Accu ½				

Note : 1 The high value were charged at rates as per lower limit of weighment or volume.

2 A Srirangam record of A.D. 1156 gives the equivalent Kāsu per 1 Accu as 9¼ Kāsu; if this can be presumed to the current exchanged rate, the horse were charged 2-5/16 Kasus and elephant at 4-5/8 *Kāsus.*

(Srirangam record No. : 125 of South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. XXIV - AR 68 of 1936-37). Accu was a coin of higher denomination than *Kāsu.*

ANNEXURE - III

LIST OF SIGNATORIES IN PIRĀNMALAI INSCRIPTION

Kāḷi Maṇḍala maṇigaḷ of Jeyaṅgoṇḍacōḷapuram

Samaya cakravarti

Āṭkoṇḍān alias Śivapattan

Kuḍandaipriyan

Sōman Viḷumban alias Uṟaiyūruḍaiyān

Abhimāna cōḷapurattu Ambalavan Jeyaṅgoṇḍa Cōḷa Cilai Ceṭṭi and others.

Pēṭṭaiyil Uḍaiyān Ābattukkāttān

Tottipuram alias Rājakēsaripurattu Tāvaḷakkoṇḍān

Śivapādaśēkharapurattu Kāḷi Muppēruḍaiyān

Samayapurandaran

Cōḷapāṇḍya purattu Koḷundan uḍaiyān Samayamantri

Maṇikkāṇḍan

Paḷḷikoṅgāṇḍān

Kōṭṭaikaraiyān alias Kōḷariśēkharapurattu

Kūṟṟan Śēvan

Karuvūr Vaṇigaimānagaram Muḍivalangu cōḷapurattu

Piḷḷai Kānanāṭṭu Cetti Māṇikkan Eṟipattāṇḍan

Tāḷaiyūr nāṭṭu Nammuttavan kan

Kīranūr Uḍaiyān Koṅgu maṇḍala Cilaiceṭṭi

Kaṇṇapurattu Dēvan Samayamāda

Muḍikoṇḍattu cōḷa Cokkagñānasambandam

Koṟṟanūruḍaiyān Maṇḍalasvāmi Kudirai Ceṭṭigaḷil

Vaṇigar Nārāyaṇan

FOOT NOTES :

1. SII XIX/417
2. SII XIX/235
3. 598/1926 The text is not available
4. SII VIII/442
5. ARE 665/1917
6. 310/1918, 311/1918, 312/1918
7. 308/1918, 312/1918, 315/1918
8. Ibid - 315/1918, 318/1918
9. 316/1915
10. 425/1917
11. 316/1918 (Marandai - Tenkāsi tk.)
12. 615/1917 Vatteluttu inscription
13. SII XIV/146
    Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Śastri considers this (13th year of Jat. Sundara cōla pāndya) the first reference to be noticed. (A Tamil merchant Guild in Sumatra, South India and South East Asia p. 240; (Gita Book House)
14. SII XIV/239
15. 335/1916
16. 365/1916
17. 348/1916
18. 363/1916
19. 367/1916, 360/1916
20. 371/1916
21. SII XIV/134, Ibid/180
22. SII XXIII/110
23. Ibid/111
24. SII XXIII/98
25. 651/1916
26. 614/1916
27. SII XIV/513
28. EI V/p. 436, "B"-Parāntaka I (40)
29. ARE 418/1900
30. ARE 426/1906

31. ARE 425/1906
32. 427 & 428/1906 Mānūr
33. SII V/449
34. 46/1927 (unfinished)
35. 261/1980-81
36. SII V/415
37. SII V/439
38. SII V/447
39. SII V/434
40. SII V/427
41. SII V/433
42. SII V/425
43. SII V/443
44. SII V/423
45. No. 52/1927
46. 262, 266/1980-81
47. 255/1941
48. 257 & 259/1941
49. 260/1941
50. 261/1941
51. 263/1943
52. 269/1941
53. 350/1930
54. 352/1930
55. 357/1930
56. 356, 357/1950
57. 363, 364/1949-50
58. 369/1950 Also 370/1950 (They are but fragments unfortunately)
59. 50/1944-45
60. 250/1981
61. 255, 256/1981
62. 4/1916
63. SII XIII/241

64. 392/1930

65. SII VIII/448

66. Ibid/445

66A Please see my personal names from the Pāṇḍyan Part of Kayal. (Current problems and methodologies South Indian Epigraphical Research - Aṇṇamalai University - pp. 52-53. 1997.)

66B Ibid. p54.

66C Sandi (SIC) for sanda(m)

66D SII Vol.VIII / 402.

67. 311/1963-64

67-A The "Collected papers" - at pp. 226-227

67-B SII XXIII/443 Sinnamanūr

68. SII XXIII/434

69. Ibid No. 430

70. Ibid No. 431

71. Ibid No. 429

72. SII XXIII/413

73. Ibid 416

74. Ibid 411, 412

75. Ibid 409

76. Ibid 410

77. 279/65-66

78. Copied in 1921-92

79. SII XIV/251

80. Ibid 262

81. 613/1926

82. 616/1926

83. SII V/303

84. 617/1926

85. ARE 240/1942

86. ARE 245/1942

87. ARE 243/1942

88. SII XVII/401

89. 235/1941

90. 236/1941

91. 237/1941

92. 248/1941

93. SII XXVI/517

94. Ibid 515

94A Ibid 518

95. SII XIV/94

96 SII XXVI/502

97. SII Ibid 505

98. Ibid 504/Palaeo : 12th century unfortunately these are all fragments

99. 332/1930 (Sāttūr)

100. 402/1914 (AD 1221) "Nālvaḷimuṭṭai" or Eṇṇai muṭṭai might mean a spoon of oil for oil pressed per day per gaṇi.

101. 403/1914

102. 406/1914 (AD 1224)

103-A 407/1914 (AD 1224)

104. 412/1914 (AD 1230)

105. 96/1974-75 (the text is not available)

106. Please see the text of Loboe Toewra inscription at p. 6-7 and Dr. Karashima's comments at p. 8 of the "Primary Session Papers of the 8th World Tamil Conference 1995. Karashima reiterates Takuapa is usually believed to have been the ancient Takkōla mentioned by Ptolemy" But Prof. Sastri has already accepted the position finally taken up by Roland Braddell and has admitted readily that it is no longer possible to hold that Takuapa is the same as Plotemy's Takōla p. 173 (South India and South East Asia Gatha Book House 1978).

107. SII VIII/442

108. EC Vol. VII SK 118 - Also pp. 243 of "South India and South East Asia"

109 Trade and patterns of commerce and its annexure at pp. 312, 324 and 325 of my "Collected papers"

110. 55/1916

111. 31/1929

112. 52/1929 SII XIV/235

113. SII XIV/213

114. SII XIV/242 - See also 37/1928-29 (18th year) 38/1928-29 (20th year) the donor was the same

115. Ibid 238

116. SII XIV/258 - See also 41/1929 (Srivallabha 21st year)

117. 300/1928, Circa 45/1929 - Also 292/1928
118. 296/1928 - caturvedimaṅgalam
119. 299/1928
120. 152/1936
121. 155/1936
122. 158/1936
123. 150/1936
124. 147/1936
125. SII VIII/432 - (Pirānmalai)
126. 174/1936
127. 175/1936
128. 507/1958-59
129. 314/1923 Tirukōṣṭiyūr undated
130. 329/1949-50
131. 331/49-50 Vīra Pāndya (13th year)
132. Kōmāḷippaṭṭi (Sivagaṅgai Tk) unnumbered of 83-84
133. 46/1916
134. 55/1916
135. 53/1916 Confer Similar benefactions in 51/19s16, 52/1916, 62/1916
136. 98/1916 (S' 1437)
137. 98/1916 (S' 1305) AD 1383
138. SII Vol. VIII 182
139. SII Vol. VIII/p 183 Even later in AD 1524 the Kulaśēkharapuram merchants excavated an ūraṇi for which the land was sold by Ūrār of Taḷakkāvūr (a part of Kaḷanivāśal) 217/1980-81.)
140. 191/1980-81
141. 598/1926 The text is not unfortunately readily available
142. SII VIII/404
143. SII VIII/403
144. I am indebted to Mr. T. N. Subrahmanyam's glossary in SITI Vol. I for many of the renderings
145. SII VIII/405 - The inscription has gaps and is incomplete
146. SII Vol. XXIII/396
147. The name persists in the 17th Century - Ibid 397
148. Ibid 398

CHAPTER - VI

THE SOLDIERY AND THE GARRISON TOWNSHIPS IN THE PĀṆḌYAN KINGDOM

Significant evidence is available about the soldiery and the commanders of army contingents as well as a few garrison Townships. (Paḍaippaṟṟu) This last term is used to denote townships where the predominant occupants were no doubt, peace time cultivators but had the obligation to render military service in the campaigns undertaken by the Pāṇḍyan Kings. Typically the evidence is the largest relating to Tirunelvēli district and less relating to Madurai district. The evidence forthcoming from Rāmanāthapuram district after the Cōḷa sovereignty is also scanty. This may be due to the act that the bulk of Tiruppattūr and Sivagaṅga Taluks were held as jīvitam by the Chieftains, Adaḷaiyūr Nāḍāḻvān and Kaḷavaḻi nāḍāḻvān and Tenkaḷavaḻi nāḍāḻvān. Also a number of Chieftains hailed from Miḻalaikūṟṟam and from the other Nāḍūs or Kūṟṟams in Sāttūr, Aruppukkōṭṭai, Mudukuḷattūr[1] and Soḻavandān Taluks. They might have been in enjoyment of *jīvitam* on condition of rendering the required soldiery in times of war. These should remain surmises as the basis of evidence available at present is negative. Ponnamarāvati **in Pudukkōṭṭai was the second capital of Mār. Sundara Pāṇḍya I** and Virayāccilai in Pudukkōṭṭai was one of the garrison townships.[2]

We have evidence of the soldiery in the other two tracts of the Tāmbraparaṇi and the Vaigai river basins. The soldiery were, particularly drawn from two sections of the community one the shepherds or sundry labour (veṭṭikkuḍi) attached to the townships and the temples therein and the other the weavers (the Kaikkōḷar).[3] It is reasonable to presume the former had their peace time occupation of tending the cattle and measuring out the ghee at the temple for lamp services instituted. The weavers engaged in their profession could be called in for serving in the soldiery or the army in times of need.

There does appear to be some standing army in the Cōḷa times the Mūnṟu kai - Māhāsēnaiyār or Paḍaipiḍitha Pallāyiravar noticed below. But these might be only a fractional nuclei with auxiliary or reserve forces drawn from the Township community. Besides there were special Pāṇḍyan contingents like Munaikedir mōhar or Tennavan Ābattudavigaḷ who were personal body-guards or committed soldiery of the King.

The evidence which bring out the facts stated above is examined below :

In the following cases the commandant of the Soldiery undertook to maintain the sheep or other endowment made for lamp services in the places noted against each.

Name of place	Date (Ruler) Regnal Yr.	Endowment	By whom undertaken
Tirunelvēli[4]	Vīra Pāṇḍya (Cōḻan Talai Koṇḍa (4+7) (AD 957)	50 Sheep	Śāttan Tirunelvēli Surety : Sēndapiḍāran Brahmapriyan Perumtiṇai
Tirunelvēli[5]	Vīra Pāṇḍya (Cōḻan Talai Koṇḍa (15+1) (AD 962)	25 Sheep	A Commandant Śēndamaṅgalavan
Tirunelvēli[6]	Vīra Pāṇḍya (Cōḻan Talai Koṇḍa (15+1) (AD 962)	50 Sheep	Tirumāl Śāttan-His surety, a commandant Kurunguḍi Kummaṇavīran
Tirukkuṟuṅguḍi[7]	Ruler N.A. 10th yr. (10th century) Vaṭṭeḻuttu	25 cows	Padaiṭṭalaivan Śāḍaiyāṇḍan
Tirukkuṟuṅguḍi[8]	Fragment	25 sheep 20 kaḻanju	Paḍaittalaivan Name N.A.
Āttūr[9]	Jaṭ. Sundara Cōḻa Pāṇḍya 20 (AD 1037)	Lamp	Donor: Pāṇḍan Kaṭṭaṅgan of the swords-men regiment of the ruler "Uḍaiyār padai Sundara Pandyatterinda-paḻaiyavāḻil"
Tiruvālīsvaram[10]	Cōḻa Pāṇḍya Jaṭ. Sundara 20(AD 1037)	35 Cows	Commandant Nāsakan Kūḻuvāṇai
Peruṅgaruṇai[11] (Mudukuḻattūr taluk)	Rāj. Kulōttuṅga 44 (AD 1114)	Land gift	Land (to Tiruveḻaikkāra Mūṇru kai Īśvaramuḍaiya mahādēvar The deity's name seems to suggest that it was set up or under the protection of the soldiery of the Cōḻa regiment named above. In a few other places too the deity is named after the Mūṇṟukaiyār (the arms of the Armed forces)

The Regiment Mūnṟukai Mahāsēnaiyār was a powerful regiment which had a praśasti in its honour. It had undertaken the protection of a number of temples as at Tiruvālīśvaram.[12] Pattanmadai[13] - A Brahmin Commander of a Regiment of the Cōḷa army which seems to have been stationed at Śērmādevi figures as a donor of a lamp service.[14]

The Mūnṟukai Mahāsēnaiyār (The Great army of the three arms) have their Praśasti or euology recorded in an inscription from Tiruvālīśvaram. It is undated but Prof. Sastri attributes this epigraph to the reign of either Rājarāja I or Rājēndra I. "In this inscription", states Prof. Sastri[15] "The Mahāsēnai is said to have constantly worshipped Viṣṇu and Śiva to have defeated the Kannara and pursued him to have killed the Gāngēya to have captured Kalmadam and destroyed Viḻiñam on the sea to have issued the sea on the other (eastern side) and razed Mātōṭṭam to the ground to have taken the Hill country (Malaināḍu) and routed the fleet (Kalamaṟuttu) at Śālai, to have put to flight the Vallan (Calukya) and captured Vanavāsi and to have been praised in song for these achievements by the Tamil poets of Kāḷahasti to have destroyed the fortess on the hill of Kucci and captured Uccandi (Uccaṅgidurg) to have inflicted a defeat on the Vaḍugas (Northerners) who opposed them and dismantled the fortification of Vāṭāpi and done other things which on account of a gap in the record are not easy to follow. In the following passage (lle 40-50) they claim to have captured the Malai Nāḍan (the Cēra and his brother) in the mountains and to have destroyed the dynasty of Kulakēsari and that they hail from Pāṇḍi Nāḍār. They have taken under their protection the Tiruvālīśvaram temple precincts (Tirumukkālvaṭṭam) the Dēvadana endowments of the temple and the many service tenure holders, the treasury, the Śivabrāhmaṇās, the artisans and carpenters, smiths and the watchmen all under the protection of Vēlaikkāran Agampadai piditha pallāyiravar. They undertake to protect for all time the charities without destruction even if they in the act of protection get killed or fall on evil days (Paṭṭum Keṭṭum) and such protections who perish shall be granted blood-grant endowments (Udirappaṭṭi) and honoured with elephants and garlands and get other remissions of land dues (Parihāras)[16]

There is evidence to show that the Mūnṟukai Mahaśēnayar were idential with the Paḍaipiḍitha Pallāyiravar (The ten thousand) who captured the (enemy's troops.) This is borne out by an inscription of the 26th year of Kulōttuṅga I (AD 1096) forms Śērmādēvi.[17] It states as below : The temple of Bhakta priyar (Bhaktavatsala) at Śērmādēvi was under their protection (Abhayasthāna). The temple and its appurtenances and the vimana, the matha, the gardens and the vessels and other belongings of the temple, the apparel, the flag, the ornaments, the main treasury and the many service holders and the pipers and drum services holders the Sundry servants, the veṭṭikuḍi who had to mesure ghee, the smiths, and the carpenters and a stone mason (Peṟṟān Kāmañjuran Munṟukai Peruntaccan) were all under the protection of Paḍai Piḍicca Pallāyiravar.

If any services was handicapped due to any calamity (antaramgaḷ) those who suffered injuries or injuries in the act of protecting the charity shall be taken on elephant and presented garland in recognition. In these terms the Mūnṟukai Mahāsēnaiyār alias Paḍaipiḍitha pallāyiravar gave a deed of arrangement for protection of the temple and its belongings.

The Āyirattenmavinnagar temple at Pattanmaḍai which was the eastern hamlet of Cēravan mādevi Cm.[18] Was also taken under the protection of the Mūnṟukaiyār obviously referring to the Mūnṟukai Mahāśēnaiyār.[19]

A contingent of this army must have been stationed at these places under their protection.

We have evidence of the Cōḷa regiments making endowments in Kēraḷaśiṅga Vaḷanāḍu. An inscription of AD 1005 (Rajaraja I) refers to the ..... Vaṭṭāḍidaterinda Valaṅgai Veḷaikkārarkaḷ nāyagam seyyum Śrī Rājarāja dēvan Kudirai "Sē(vakar)". Rājarāja cavalrymen or horsemen who command the valaṅgai veḷaikkārar. They had endowed 50 sheep for a lamp service.[20]

Rājaraja - I had also granted jīvitam lands in the Tēnār-Command area to one of his Perundanam chiefs, Rājarājadēvar perundanattu Mukundanūr uḍaiyār kādan . . . . dēvan. The latter had endowed a lamp service in Kunnakkuḍi in AD 1008. It is known that the Cōḷa army under Rājarāja had two divisions. Perundanam and Śirudanam.[21]

Kulōttuṅga - I had to reassert the Coḷa authority in the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom and quell the risings therein. . . . The most sustained efforts of Kulōttuṅga - I resulted in the reconquest of the Pāṇḍya and the Kēraḷa countries between the 7th and 11th years of his reign.[22]

An inscription at Kallal (in Sivagaṅgai Tk) refers to a blood-grant for a servant who severed his head in order to cure the illness of his Chief Vīman udāran alias Kulōttuṅga Cōḷa Mūvaraiyan, who had participated in the campaign.[23]

In AD 1114, again, in Kulōttuṅga's reign Kulottuṅga Cōḷa Nāḍāḷvān granted 11 plots to the deity at Peruṅgaruṇai (Mudukuḷattūr Tk) - Punaivayilurikkai Tadankaḷi Tiruvēḷaikkarar Mūnṟukai Īśvaramuḍaiya Māhādēvan. It could be inferred from the name of the deity that this temple was patronised or was under the protection of the Cōḷa force referred to.[24]

In the 7th year of Vikrama Cōḷa (AD 1125) a curious inscription is recorded at Sivapuri Dvarāpati vēḷān gave a grant to the Vāḷilār the Swordsmen.[25] He gave 5 *mā* of land to every one who died in a skirmish and 3 *mā* of land in addition as blood grant. He also agreed to receive (by way of land-dues) whatever was given

by the relatives of those who died from among the vāḷilār or other servants in skirmishes or on account of any disease. He was not prepared to take the odium of the deceased.

Finally an inscription of Jaṭ. Vikrama Pāṇḍya (10th year) at Tiruppattūr refers to a horseman Accacirikāṇi a foreigner-Kannaḍiyar (Paradēśa Kannaḍiya) who had made an endowment to Sūryadēva in the Tiruppattūr temple[26]

Presumably he must have been a part of the cavalry which had accompanied the Hoysāḷā rulers who intervened in Cōḷa Pāṇḍya conflicts.[27]

In the reign of Jaṭ. Vikrama (4th year) a Gōśāla and a grant for a maṭha were granted lands which had belonged to some Malayāḷa Brahmins who were granted lands in exchange. As they refer Hoysāḷa Vīrasōmēśvara these could be dated about 1220-1245, the period of Hoysala hegemony in the south.

As already noticed the evidence during the resurgent Pāṇḍyas of the soldiery in Ramanathapuram district becomes scanty. This can be ascribed to the entire region being held by chieftains as Jīvitam who had revenue and military obligation to render to the Pāṇḍyan rulers.

The resurgent Pāṇḍyas had to conscript a large land army to fight the Cōḷas. The volume of evidence is the larger for the spread of such land army contingents particularly in townships on the leeward side of the western ghats. Also in the Paḷani taluk of Madurai district there are references to army contingents of the Koṅgu rulers. The volume of evidence is the largest pertaining to the reign of Māṟ. Sundara I, the Warrior-King, who twice worsted the Cōḷa Kings Kulōttuṅga III and Rājarāja III. But evidence even from the reign of Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha is available and it increased during the reign of Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara I.

The village Nāṅgunēri was a composite Township. The Brahmadēya portion Abhayāsriya Cm was one entity. The Śiva temple Tirunāgēśvaram uḍaiyār was situated in it. On the supplication of a Prince (Nampiḷḷai) the King Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha granted in the 17th year (AD 1107) the lands as Iṟaiyili including the Antarāyam which were in two parts. The first was double crop wet land under the Cōḷapāṇḍyappērēri irrigated by the sluice Abimānarāman maḍai, through the channel called Kēśavadi in the 5th outlet 5th Kaṇṇāṟu including the *Kārāṇmai* in the lands (hitherto) occupied by Jayaṅgoṇḍa Cōḷan. These lands were held by the solidiery (Paḍaipaṟṟu) and the occupancy was terminated and the lands resumed. The other chunk consisted of the temple precincts and the lands appurtenant to them which were already an old Dēvadāna.[28] From this evidence it may be inferred that the Pāṇḍya ruler's soldiery or perhaps even during the Cōḷa occupation which had immediately preceded it the soldiery held occupancy rights in the lands in this part of the township and it had "garrison" holdings.

In the 14th year of Mār. Sundara I (AD 1230) a grant was made to this temple for special services to the god and goddess on the Mārgaḷi Ārdhra day every year. Two *Ānaiaccu* were endowed by Cōḷan Kunṟan alias Avaninārāyaṇa Pallavaraiyar an archer belonging to the Iranasiṅgavīran- terinda villigaḷ (archers)[29] of the Battalion stationed at Maruvāykkuricci alias Naralōkavīranallūr in the Command area of Paccaiyār.[30] This village also should be located in the Kaḷakkāḍu region watered by Paccaiyar, south of Tāmbraparaṇi.

Another Pāṇḍyan regiment stationed at Tirunelvēli but holding occupant lands in Pattamaḍai was the Abimānabhūṣaṇan Terinda Kaikkōḷas.[31] Two Kaikkōḷas had endowed lamp services in the temple at Tirunelvēli. On the 3rd year, day 2152 of Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara I (AD 1193-94) they secured a grant from the King. For the oil to be measured for the lamps by the Saṅkarappāḍiyār in Suttavalli. Big street the two donors gave 2 *vēlis* of land which were in their occupancy in the Dēvadāna lands which yielded 18 *accu* as *Kaḍamai* and *Antarāyam* per year. The lands were watered from Dēvarkuḷam in Mēlavēmbu Nāḍu.

This contingent seems to have in several locations, especially in and around Śērmādēvi. One among them Saḍaiyār Paḍaiyāni alias Piḷḷai Pallavarayan of the Abhimānabhūṣaṇa Iterinda Kaikkōḷas had endowed 8 *accu* for the service in Kailāsa muḍaiyār temple at Śēravan Mādēvi Cm.[32] This was in the 16th year of Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara. (AD 1206).

The same Kaikkōḷa regiment together with the Personal staff of Sundara Pāṇḍya provided for a matha in Giriyambāḷpuram in the 12th year of Mār. Sundara.[33]

In the 4th year of Jaṭ. Vīra Pāṇḍya the Kaikkōḷa Sēnāpati of Tirunelvēli (who might be identified with the above donors) had sold land to a dancing girl. The lands were their jīvitam lands in Pattanmaḍai the eastern hamlet of Śēravan Mādēvi Cm a Brahmadēya in Muḷḷi nāḍu. The sale carried with it the obligation to pay Kaḍamai antarāyam and other land dues in cash and kind. The 1 *mā* of land was in 2 parcels, ½ *ma* canal fed, south of Virakēraḷapilār (sub channel), 19th Kaṅṅāṟu the 2nd lay to the south and to the north in the 6th *sey*, another ½ *mā* also canalfed. The signatories were Sri Kulaśēkharasiddarayan Adisayapāṇḍyavaṭṭarāyan, Vikramapāṇḍya vaṭṭtarāyan, Kanakarāyan, Kacciyarāyan, Vaḷudipanman. These names indicate that the Kaikkōḷas soldiers or generals had taken their names after the Pāṇḍyan rulers and were styling themselves as "Araiyan" or Rāyan.[34]

It can be inferred that the lands in the first case (Dēvarkuḷam) were the personal occupancy holdings fully assessed. The sale in the case noticed above was of the Jīvitam lands also liable to pay land-dues but burdened with the condition of military service. Both were vendible and inheritable. But some of the soldier occupants, resided in

Tirunelvēli and were cultivating the lands through others, and not necessarily themselves. Others were resident in Śēranmādēvi and perhaps, in Pattanmadai itself where they had their *jīvitam* lands.

There were similar holdings of the soldiery in Sēranmādēvi and its hamlets, Pattanmadai Kīlacceval, among others.

As noticed above Pattanmadai had a regiment stationed therein and the temple was under their protection. There are individual grants for lamp service by the supervisors of the forces of the first regiment (ivvūr mudalāvadu padaikku Āraycci Ādiccan).[35]

The soldiery held lands as Jīvitam in seymadainallūr and in Dēśamāṇikkam.[36] The King determined the tenure of the lands as jīvitam and terminated the occupancy of the previous holders and endowed the lands to the temple at the request of Malavarāyan. It was dated 13th year and was a Konērinmaikondan grant.

These occupancy holdings of the garrison (Padaiparru) had extended in the adjoining Kariśūlndamangalam another eastern hamlet of Cēranmādēvi Cm. In the 10th year of Jat. Vīra Pāṇdya the community made a levy of paddy from the lands, which were originally cultivated on lease but since taken up by cultivating tenants, for the repairs to that temple. Among those who bore the communal levy were including the holdings of the huntsman the Brahmins and the garrison soldiery (Padaiparru)[37]

Attāninallūr is an adjoining hamlet on the western side. It was the eastern hamlet of Rājarāja Cm, the big Brahmadēya in Mulli Nādu.[38]

The deity in the Śiva temple was named as Mūnrukai Īśvaramudaiya mahādēvar.[39] As it was usual to name the deity after the principal benefactors who built the shrine or were protecting the temple it might be inferred that this temple was also associated with the great army which had its regiments from Pattanmadai to Tiruvālīsvaram and elsewhere.

This inference confirmed by the evidence from some of the 13th century inscriptions found in the temple. In two records the first dated to 11th year of Jat. Vīra.[40] and the second 20th year of Vīra Pāndya.[41] The Chiefs of the ten contingents (Pattupadai nāyagam) of Attaninallūr granted a garden and a piece of housesite for the shrine of the Pillaiyār (Ganēśa) to be built. The donors in the second grant are described as the executive supervisors of the armed forces of Attāni(nallūr) (Padaikkāraicci sevvar). The garden was named "Āditta dēvan Tirunandavanam" perhaps named after the Chief Commandant of the forces. The site was relinquished by the donors as they held the housesites and lay to the north of a house-site of Sēnappallavadarāyan.

This last inference is supported by some details forthcoming from the inscription of Māṟ. Kulasekhara in the same place.[42]

In the 8th year of Māṟ. Kulasekhara (AD 1276) the Chiefs or Commanders of the Ten contingents at Attāḷanallūr donated lands for maintaing the garden formed and granted by Vīradarāyan. The land was a jivitam land of the soldiery and at the tail end of the sluice-channel and under Sālai Kuḷam-mukkāṇi araikkāṇi in extent. To its north was the Jīvitam land which the soldiery had mortgaged to one Tenna Gangadēvan. To its west a parcel enjoyed by Ponpaṟṟi uḍaiyār. A reference to receipt of some capital could be the deposit from the interest on which the land-dues obligation on the land endowed had to be met as the land was declared as "Iṟaiyili" (tax free).

The signatories to the deed were : Īḷattuppallavarayan, Parākrama pāṇḍya pallavarayan, Vīra Pāṇḍya Pallavarayan. The Chiefs of the contingent had the title of "Pallavarayan". One among them had the housesite south of the plot donated to the Piḷḷaiyār-temple.

The *Jīvitam* tenure lands had to pay the land dues and the lands were not tax free. When the land was endowed for a charitable purpose it had to be freed from the obligation which the Jīvitam holders, the soldiery undertook on receipt of a capital account. It could be sold to Brahmins, who unless otherwise determined, could hold the land under the same terms as their predecessors in title. The land could also be mortgaged, when denoted it required a separate royal grant to terminate the tax levies. Doubtless it was inheritable.The contingent forces had their Chiefs or Commandants who were authorised to transact business on behalf of the forces.

The tank referred to in the grant of Māṟ. Kulaśēkhara had been existence for over a century. In an inscription of Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara (4th year)[43] from Pāppākuḍi the north western of Rājarāja Cm an endowment had been made from the Jīvitam holding of the Attaṇinallūr regiment by Jagadoppar Kaṇdar for maintaining that irrigation source and the excess paddy to be utilised for the hall (Tirumāḷigaikaṭṭu) built by him and named after him in the Kapilēśvaram Uḍaiyār Temple. The Vināyaka deity was named after that chief.

The soldiery were also attached to the temple of Śāsta at Vaḍakku Karukuṟicci as they figured among the grantors of some privileges to an individual, Śaivan Pañcānan alias Vijayadēva.[44]

Reference has been above to the soldiery stationed at Dēśamāṇikkanallūr. Here too they had their jīvitam holdings. A series of records from Kīḻacceval adjoining Pattanmaḍai refer to the lands of this tenure and their alienation or termination.[45]

A benefactor, Karitturai Rājaśingan Śēkaran alias Śēkacca Nāḍāḷvān had raised a garden named Vīraśēkharan. He wished to provide for tending the garden. A Brahmin in Sēranmādēvi, Kāṇaviniyaperumāḷ dāsar had taken a usufructory mortage of land and enjoying the land about 2 *mā* in extent. On the supplication of Aṇṇan Tamiḷapallavarayan, the Jīvitam tenure of the land was determined and the land even rendered tax free and made a subsistence grant for tending the garden. This was in the 14th year. (AD 1251-52) of Mār. Sundara II.[46]

The revenue officials also signed this tax-free grant and were drawn from the various Nāḍus of the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom. Among others the following figure :

Vaḍatalaiccembināḍu - Irānaṅkuḍi alias Abhimānabhuṣhaṇa Nallūr.

Mudukulattūr - Viḷupparaiyan

Siruvambūr - Kāṅgayarāyan

Kīḷavēmbu Nāḍu - Rājavillipuram - Manattapperumaḷ alias Munaiyadaraiyan

Miḷalaikūṟṟam Kīḷkūṟṟu Taccanūr Aruḷan Sēvagadevan[47]

Sevvirukkai Nāḍu - Sembi nāḍu - Cakrapāṇi Nallūr

Araiyan Vīraṭṭan Pallavaraiyan[48]

The location of the soldiery and the lands enjoyed by them as Jīvitam in villages or hamlets in close proximity around the big Brahmadēya township of Cēravanmādēvi Cm have been detailed above tracing their occurrance from jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara I 's time to Mār. Kulaśēkhara I (AD 1190-1311)

We now notice the intensity of the occurrence of the epigraphic evidence pertaining to the reigns of Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara and Mār. Sundara Pāṇḍya I in particular. Already the beginnings of the resurgence of the Pāṇḍyas could be noticed from the time of Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha (AD 1090), and it was firmly laid by Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara I (AD 1190) It was his worthy successor, the warrior King Mār. Sundara I (1216 to 1239) who twice carried fire and brimstone into the Cōḷa Kingdom and its ancient capital Āyirattaḷi. His great effort would have demanded a large organisation and mustering a large force drawn from wide and varied sources. There were a series of locations from where such contingents were drawn and trained and or stood guard.

Perunguḷam is one of the nine sacred Vaiṣnavite centres sung by the Nammāḷvār[49] The deity in the Śiva shrine was named Tiruvaḷudīśvaramuḍaiyār. Perhaps the Nāḍu took its name after deity or the place where the Siva temple was located. This was important centre where the Pāṇḍyan forces were stationed during the medieval times.

In inscriptions this township is named as Uttama Cōḷa Nallūr and the *Ūrār* sell lands[50] but in the Pāṇḍyan inscription the name get changed as Uttamapāṇḍya Nallūr.[51]

In the 25th year of Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara (AD 1215) the (*Valangaippaḍai valangai māsēnaippaḍaikku ārāyci nāyakam ūrmēr paḍa valangai nāyakam uḷḷiṭṭa perumpaḍaiyōm*) the valangai big army including the commanders and these who supervised the affairs of the Valangai māsēnai sold a tank and lands to the shrine of Subrahmaṇya (Kunṟamerinda Piḷḷaiyar) set up by a dancing girl (Taláikkōli). They received the price and the capital to defray the land dues, the latter responsibility being taken over the vendors. The tank and its ayacut sold were their jīvitam lands under Vaḍakānam tank. The Vendors claim to be the worshippers of the feet of the bearers of the Nāyanār. (Nāyanār Śrīpādam sēvikkum). This might convey that they were serving the ruling King or the deity.[52]

Ten years later (AD 1225) the same force sold some additional lands for the same shrine on the same terms. These lands included wet, dry and tank water spread (Kuḷakkuḷi) The signatories of the document reveal a great deal of the division of the forces. There were not less than eight divisions and the persons responsible for every division signed the sale deed :

First division	: Danañjaya Pallavaraiyan
Second division	: Uttamapāṇḍya Pallavaraiyan
Third division	: Kannavaḷi Nāḍāḷvān
Fourth division	: Uttamapāṇḍya Nāḍāḷvān
Fifth division	: Avanikkōn
Sixth division	: Aḷagiyapāṇḍyarāyan
Seventh division	: Tirunīṟṟu Cōḷakkōn
Eighth division	: Kulōttuṅga Cōḷakkōn

In addition, Maṇḍalamāṇikka Nāḍāḷvān

Signed the deed and the temple stone mason recorded it.[53]

The forces stationed at Peruṅguḷam to the Valaṅgai castes. The social division of Valaṅgai and Iḍangai had already been in vogue. The Maha Śenai or Perumpaḍai had several division under command of a General or Chief. They had also each an authorised signatory.

In AD 1228, land and housesites were sold by the Valaṅgaippaḍai ārāytchi nāyagam Muṟpērpaḍai Vaḷavam-included[54] perum paḍaiyōm The Muṟpērpaḍai was one more

division of the Great Force stationed at Peruṅguḷam. This section of the force had its own superintending executives.

From the boundaries of the housesites it could be inferred that the occupied housesites had mud walls to enclose the owned site (Narasiṅgakōn manaiyil maṇ madiḷukku mērku.) The land sold lay to the south of the highway leading to Tirunelvēli from Peruṅguḷam. The sale conveyed *Kārāṇmai, Mīyatci, Veṭṭippāṭṭām* and other rights. The land-price and capital for defraying the land-dues were received from the four coparceners of the benefactor who set up the deities. Candraśēkharar and the goddess set up by Āḷuḍaiyār Āḷpattar, who belonged to the household or loyal men attached (Agampaḍiyil) of Naraśingadēvar presumably a Chieftain.

There were as many as twentyfour signatories some having the title of *Pallavaraiyan* others *Nāḍāḷvān* and still others *Kōn*. But twenty out of the twenty-four signatories were illiterates, who could not sign their names. The accountant of the Mahāsabhā, Veḷḷai mārakāṇam Koṟṟa bhaṭṭan alias Valaṅgai mattanam Bhaṭṭan (Veḷḷai vāraṇan Koṟṟa bhaṭṭan alias Valaṅgai mīkāma bhaṭṭan is the correct reading) besides reducing the deed to writing signed for all illiterates.[55]

A further document stipulated that for the land so sold in the transaction above, for the housesite 1 *Dramam* of 6 *mēni* and for the *mā* of land sold for the lands which came to yield on inspection 4 *kalams* per *mā* by the 7 *nāḷi* measure were to be delivered as *Kaḍamai*. The 4 persons who paid the price and their descendants shall have the *Kārāṇmai* and *mēlatci* (occupancy rights). No other land levies were to be stipulated. This was the deed drawn up by the temple authorities for whom the Śivabrāhmanās and the dancing girls (one of whom was illiterate) and the person who recited the sacred hymns signed the deed.[56]

In the 15th year of Māṟ. Suṇdara who took "Īḷam Kaliṅgam, the two Kongus, Muḍikoṇḍa cōḷapuram and the crowned head of the Cōḷas" the same *Perumpaḍai* (the Big or Great force) including Muṟpēṟpaḍai vāḷam the Valaṅgaipaḍai Āraytci Nāyagam sold land to the Tiruvaḷudīśvaramuḍaiya Nāyanār. The lands lay to the south of the Dēvadāna of the deity Subramaṇya sold above. The price was paid by the dancing girl who happened to be the same as the person who set up the shrine in AD 1215, or her scion of a later date. If the former the transaction may be dated in AD 1231[57] in the reign of Māṟ. Sundara I.

This sale deed too, is signed by 21, of the same as the document of AD 1228, A number of them had the title Pallavaraiyan, others Kōn and others Rāyan or Pēraiyan or Nāḍāḷvan. Here again as many 15 out of 21 signatories were illiterates. Hence the document was written and signed by the accountant of the force, Veḷḷai Vāraṇa Koṟṟa

bhattan alias Valangaimīkāma bhattan. Perhaps he acted as accountant for both the Mahāsabhā of the Brahmadēya occupants and the forces which held other lands in occupancy or as jīvitam for rendering military service.

In a Kōnērinmaikondān record of the 16th year of a ruler, (who is not named) a purchase of land in the name of the deity, Māyakkūttan in the Visnu shrine was made from the soldiery (Padaiyilār). It could be seen that the Padaiyilār had several holdings in Uttama Pāndyanallūr. Of the 1 *vēli* of land purchased to institute a new service on the native asterisk of a Chieftain Gurukulattaraiyan of Milalaikurram 3 *mā* had already been ensowed to a Jaina shrine of Nikarākarapperumballi in the same township which was compensated by purchasing a land in exchange in the name of the Jaina deity Nikarākara Nāyagar. The King remitted the land dues thereon.[58]

This evidence is conclusive that under the Pāndyas of the second empire a large force with several military divisions had existed at Perungulam. They held occupancy lands which they donated or sell or inherit. They had also the individual and collective obligations for payment of land dues and services. They had an accountant and Chief executives (Nāyagam) who transacted business - such as those noticed above.

We can now turn westwards again to notice a number of places where the soldiery were stationed on the Pāndyan-Cēra border on the leeward side of the western ghats. The places which yield evidence are Pāvūr (east and west) Kadaiyam Ūrmēlalagiyān (Tenkāsi Taluk) Dārukāpuram and Tenmalai (Sivagiri Taluk).

Pāvūr was in two parts east and west. Its ancient name was Bāhūr or Ksatriya śikhāmani Nallūr in Kurumarai Nādu[59]

In the 12th regenal year of Mār. Sundara Pāndya (AD 1228) the revenue Superintendents (Tandal nāyagam śeivār) of the Munaikēdir Mōhar of Ksatriyaśikhāmani nallūr granted the tank and the ayacut of Dananjayarāmankulam. The grant included Kārānmai rights and was tax-free. This was to defray the expenses for the daily offerings including the clothing and there apparel charges and for the upkeep of a garden being raised in the name of the donors. This was endowed to Krsna image (Tiruvāy kulattu pillai) in the Rājēndravinnagar temple at Mannārkōil.

On the east of the lands was the Ilangōvaraiyan or Kulaśēkhara Ilangōvaraiyar Tank. To its south was a well. The tank was called "Tiruvāykulappēri" the waterspread the submersible lands and moisture-left lands wet dry and (proportionate) natham, natham-sites, trees wells and gardens and all other appurtenances were granted as Iraiyili. If there were any arrear dues (Iruppu) to be paid the donor agreed to bear internally the dues among themselves (Ullilē) and defray them. The right to take water to the tank was from the point where water was given to the channel of a matam. The

grant was made by the *Kāraṇavar* (agents or managers) of the *Tantirattōm* (The garrison) and the *Taṇḍalnāyakam śeivar* (Revenue Superintendents) working for the garrisons.[60]

Here again as many as eight signatories were illiterate. a garrison accountant (Tandirakaṇakku) is also mentioned. The deed itself was written by the Vagaikaṇakku of the Tandiram, Sīrilaṅgo Aḷagiya maṇavāḷan.

More evidence is forthcoming from Pāvūr (Bāhūr) itself from reign of Mār. Śrīvallabha to Mār. Vikrama (1283-1296) - for well over a Century.

The earliest, perhaps is dated in the 20th year of Mār. Śrīvallabha.[61] It is a land endowment for the daily services in the Viṣṇu temple named Munaiyedirmōhar Viṇṇagar emberumān. The deed was executed by the revenue superintendents of the force, Munaiyedirmōhar and the authorised agents for the *Tantiram* (garrison). Apparently a grant was from the Jīvitam occupancies held by them. The second transaction was a sale of a tank and its ayacut the Taṇdal nāyagam śeivār (Revenue Superintendents) for the Munaiyedirmōhar to the Siva temple in the same township. This could be dated AD 1236 in Mār. Sundara I's reign.[62]

Two years later the same revenue Superintendents through two of their agents Perumāḷ Idar Nīkkipāgar Ilaṅgōvaraiyan. Perumān Dēvan alias Kallaga Nāḍudaiyān and the Tantris sold land to one Uyyavandāḷappan alias Kulaśēkhara . . . 6 *mā* of land under a tank; the lands were surrounded on all sides by tanks. The land dues were fixed at 3 *kalam*, 6 *kāśu* per *mā* and at one half of it if watered by baling. It was sold on *Kuḍi Kārāṇmai* tenure i.e. the purchaser having occupancy rights and for the produce.[63]

The same revenue Superintendents of the Munayedirmōhar rendered as Iraiyili 6 *mā*, *mukkāṇi mundirikai* lands which were enjoyed as Madappuram by a Śaivaperumān madam in the North Street in Tirunelvēli.[64] This was in the 7th year of Mār. Kulaśēkhara. (AD 1275).

The signatories to this deed were a number of Araiyans or Nāḍāḷvāns.

Sōḷīyavaraiyar

Kulaśēkharaviḻupparaiyan

Pāñcālaraiyakulattu Palayavānambi

N (K?)allaga Nāḍāḷvān

Ilangōvaraiyan

Kulaśēkhara Ilaṅgōvaraiyan

Sundarapāṇḍya Kallaganāḍāḷvān

Kulaśēkhara Kallaganāḍāḷvān

Kulaśēkhara Cōḷīyavaraiyan

Tamiḷadaraiyan

Kiḷavan

Kallaganāḍu lay to the north of Bāhūr and north-west of Kurumaṛai Nāḍu.[65] It may be inferred that many of these constituents of the Tantra of the Munaiyedir Mōhār hailed from or take their title after the neighbouring Nāḍu.

The last inscription in Pāvūr[66] is dated in the reign of Māṛ. Vikrama (1283-1296). This is a fragment. But it reveals some significant evidence - the Munaiyedirmōhar had another honorofix (Tennavan āpattudavigaḷōm). There were leaders of the divisions of the army. The garrison (tantra) had distributed their obligation and some of the shares falling to the individuals in Telingakulakāla Cm (which must have been located near about) are referred to in the boundaries.

It may be recalled that in the inscription referred to earlier in the reign of Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha the grant of dēvadāna lands in Kuṛungānam alias Telingakulakāla Cm and its southern hamlet, Paṭṭamangalam which was a separate revenue unit have been referred to.[67]

This section of the Pāṇḍyan soldiery - Munaiyedir mōhar Tennavan āppattudavigaḷ - deserve notice. This contingent (as the name conveys) were the King's own Royal Regiment and hence called Tennavan Āpattudavigaḷ. They might not have been a centrally recruited whole time standing army but their professed organisation as a force completely dedicated to the service of the ruler cannot be discounted. They were men of gallantry. Marco Polo has given following account of these King's own Regiments.

"And there are about the king a number of Barons in attendance upon him. These ride with him and keep always near him and have great authority in the Kingdom they are called the King's Trusty Lieges. And you must know that when the King dies and they put him on the fire to burn him these Lieges cast themselves into the fire round about his body and suffer themselves to be burnt along with him. For they say they have been his comrades in this world and that they ought to keep him company in the other world".[68] Abu Zaid, another Arab Compiler of AD 916 has also given a similar account.[69]

It was no wonder that they bore names of the rulers and were less known for their literacy than blind valour. But they were not without the disposition to make charities and public endowments.

More evidence is available from the adjoining western hamlet of Rajaraja caturvedimaṅgalam at the foothills, Kādēṛu Kaḍaiyam. Two records both of the reign of Mār. Sundara I, the first dated 18th year and the other dated the 21st year (AD 1234) and AD 1237 respectively). The first records[70] sale of land by the agents of the army (Parigraha) and the Tantirattōm to the Śiva shrine at Kaḍaiyam alias Vikrama pāṇḍya Nallūr. The lands sold were part of the jīvitakkāṇi (Occupancy holdings for subsistence for the soldiery). The lands were located in Paṇṇaṅguḍi a hamlet of Rājarāja Cm. One Sēnapati Uḍaiyān Vaḷavanāna Piraman Kāḍuveṭṭi had reclaimed the lands and excavated a tank named Udayanēri. The vendors stipulated that the said Vaḷavan Piraman was to have the occupancy rights and the *Kaḍamai* dues were to be paid to the temple.

The second deed[71] conveyed the *Kārāṇmai* rights from the crops. (Dānapayir pramāṇam) gifted by the Parigraham and the Sēnapatyam seyvār and Taṇḍal nāyagam seyvār and Tantirattōm acting for the *Ūr* of Kaḍaiyam alias Vikrama Pāṇḍya Nallūr to the temple of Kailāsamuḍaiya nāyanār, Dasaratharāmīśvaramuḍaiyār. The lands granted were from the jīvitam holdings under the tank Ārampūṇḍār Tank to the north of the river (Rāmanadhi) and to the north of the northern boundary of the udayanēri conveyed by the deed described above. The lands were to be reclaimed and deepened and from the harvested yield from lands in which the crops matured the requirements of several deities west met Vināyaka Subrahmaṇya, Vaḍuga Piḷḷaiyār the goddess of the Bedchamber, Naṭarāja and Tambirān aḍiyār the god and the goddess and Āḷuḍaiya Piḷḷaiyār and all other subsidiary shrines. The only levy payable on the wet lands growing wet crops on inspection and on yielding lands was 1 *kalam* per *mā*. Any other levy or distributed levies shall be borne by the *Ūr* collectively.

In making this arrangement the donor also determined prior encumbrances on the land. They were 12 *accu* balance of the amount received on usufructry mortgage of the lands from Paṇṇaṅguḍi Parigraham Seyya pāṇḍya dēvar, 32 *accu* received from Nārāyaṇa dēvar by Tennavan Pallavaraiyan Kāḍuveṭṭi for paying the fines levied on the latter and 1 *accu* due to Āṇḍapillai. These amounts of 45 *accu* in all were to be paid from the temple treasury by the temple executives to redeem the mortgages. The donee temple could also induct and evict the tenants cultivating the lands. The donor also agreed to allow water from the Tennavadaraiyan weir (aṇai) on the same basis as already agreed upon to . . . . , a Brahmadēya village. There were 23 signatories all having the titles like Pallavaraiyan Tennavaraiyan Vallavaraiyan, Piḷḷayaraiyan, etc., Of the 23, 14 were illiterates and others signed the deed. But illiteracy was no bar

to their participation in the Township affairs and taking responsibility for the collective transactions of the Township.

To the north-west of Kadaiyam the Pānddyan forces were stationed and had holdings in Ūrmēlalagiyān, (Tenkāsi taluk), Dārukāpuram and Tenmalai in Sankarankōil taluks.

The soldiery of Urmēlalagiyān had in their possession lands endowed to the Kulaśēkhara shrine at Rājēndra Vinnagar which they had the good sense to relinquish and restore to the shrine[72] in the 5th year of Mār. Sundara I (AD 1221), the Guardians (Kārānavar) of the Tantra (Regiment) of Śēnapati Dandanāyakam which was a division of the Parigraham Dēvēndravallān Śeṅgōl Vēlaikkārar of Ūrmaiyalagiyān of Vadavāri nādu executed an agreement deed to the shrine of Kulaśēkhara in Rājēndra Vinnagar (erected in the reign of Jat. Kulaśēkhara) as follows: As they were enjoing the ayacut lands (*puravu*) inclusive of Vilāñjōlai which were endowed to the shrine they gave a release deed (Vittukkuduttōm) planting the boundary stones with the emblem thereon. If the Piragikkulam (a source higher up) got filled the surplus water therefrom might be taken through a branch water course (*nīrkavar*) from the already excavated old channel for the tank-ayacut so released. The document was attested by several with titles of Pallavaraiyan, Nādālvān and Mūvēndavēlān. Six among the signatories were illiterate. The Ūr Tandirakkanakku the Accountant of the Regiment (Tantra) and township (*Ūr*) signed for some of the illiterate subscribers and wrote the deed and signed it. An undated Vatteluttu inscription in Urmēlalaguyān in the Mādasvāmi (Dēsavalanallūr dēvar) temple stated that the village be under the protection of Padaipiditta Pallāyiravar.[73]

Evidently there were garrisons of the Pāndya forces kept along the stratagic border of Pāndya-Cēra Kingdoms at the foot of the Ghats. Another undated inscription therein records the deity as "Tiśai āyairattu aññūrruvar Dēśavalanallūr dēvar".[74] Evidently there were also merchant colonies participating in the trade between the west coast and the east located here. The garrisons should have afforded the necessary security also for these commercial sections of the community.

In the 17th year of Mār. Sundara I (AD 1229) the temple treasury at Dārukāpuram (Pārantaka Cm in Āri Nādu) had no money to pay the distributed levies demanded by the Sabhaiyār and to have it remitted a benefactor Puliyūr Kilavan Pralayavītankar Abhayampukkār residing in Kulaśēkhara perunderu gave 1/3 share in a tank-ayacut he held. In addition he took on usufructory mortgage the cultivating rights from the Twelve regiments (Pannirandu padaiyār) some parcels of lands under the command of Mānābharanappērēri 6 *mā mukkāni* in extent. This usufructary mortgage of cultivating rights (ulavorri) was obtained by him on paying 13 *accu* to the regiments collectively

(*Padaippodu*). He also obtained on similar mortgage terms 2 parcels (2 *mā*) in extent in Pāttākuricci jīvitam lands in the middle portion of the ayacut, (Naduvil Kūrril) from the Kaikōla Sēnapati Dandanāyakar included Tantravar and gave the Tandirattār collectively 4½ *accu* and 150 paddy *kalam* - in all 17½ *accu* and 150 *kalams*.[75]

This is confirmed by a further sale deed dated 12th year of Mār. Kulaśēkhara I. (AD 1280). In that year the superintending executives (Padaikku ārātci śeivārgalom) of Malaiyadikkuricci in Āri Nādu sold water rights to a Chieftain Vēnāvudaiyān alias Kālingarāyan of Kalattūr in Sevvirukkai Nādu. The lands held by them were the Jīvitam lands and they were irrigated from a tank sluice. The sale was of the water rights alone for a consideration of panam 100. The deed also regulated the manner of taking water from the sluice. The signatories again included Pallavaraiyan, Āri Nādālvān and two other Nādālvāns Munaiyadaraiyan Tamiladaraiyan. The accountant of the regiment Arasadandan of Manalūr wrote the deed.[76]

One more evidence pertains to the year 8 of Mār. Sundara. This was a sale of land from the Jīvitam lands under the Nelmali Tank fed by the sluices to the deity of Ānaiyūr in Āri Nādu by the Tantram inclusive of the Śēnāpati Dandanāyagam of the Parigraha of Puttūr for 10¼ *accu*. The Vendor-Tantran agreed to bear the land dues on the parcels sold. The proportionate share of water could be taken in its turn by the Vendee.

The signatories were -

Marupadaivallavan

Marupadai Pallavaraiyan - illiterate

Naraśingaraiyan - illiterate

Seyyapāndyapanmar - illiterate

Nāyakkan Śokkan

Tirumangai alagiyān - illiterate

Dēvēndrapanman - illiterate

Kumaravēlan signed for him.

The Tandirakanakku the accountant of the tantra, Irumpulai Uyyaninrādi nayakkadēvan drew up the deed and signed it.

Finally we may notice a cantonment township (Maṉarpaḍai vīḍu) on the sands of the Tambraparaṇi river east of Tirunelvēli. It was the eastern hamlet of Uttama cōḻa Cm and named in the inscription as Ambalattāḍinallūr of Rāj. Kulōttuṅga I (43rd regnal year - AD 1112 - 13). The deity was named Mūṉṟu kai mahāsēnaiyar. The Mahāsabhā granted the lands still left unreclaimed to the temple.[78]

A royal order of Māṟ. Vikrama (12th year AD 1294-95) remitted the land taxes and dues on the lands granted to the temple at Maṉaṟpaḍai vīḍu. These were from out of the jīvitam lands of the soldiery of the place and the lands were located in the jīvitam lands of Nakkamaṅgalam.[79]

Another fragmentary inscription ascribed to the same reign refers to the sale of lands in the village by the Aṟupaḍai āraytci nāyakam of the place.[80]

Mention is also made of the King's or the Chief's entourage of the house (Agaparivāram or Agampaḍi) who have set up shrines or installed an image of Śenapati Āḻvar (Bisvaksēna) at Manaṟpadai vīdu.[81]

They might be the Bodyguards of the King or forming part of the personal staff or entourage of the King in his palace.

It may be added that an unnumbered inscription from Udayanēri a hamlet of Pālāmaḍai on the opposite bank of the river Tāmbraparaṇi refers to it as "Mukkōkkiḻān adigal Cm" which lay on the road to Madurai from Maṉaṟpaḍaivīdu. A Kāliṅgarāyan Chieftain excavated a well therein which is in use even today.

We may now turn to the notices of the soldiery in the Śuriliyār, Vaigai and Ṣanmukānadi belts in Mathura dt. A gift of sheep granted for a temple were left to the protection of Paḍaipiḍitta (Pal)lāyiravar in an inscription pertaining to the regin of Cōḻan Talai Koṇḍa Vīra Pāṇḍya. This evidence could suggest that the Paḍaipiḍatta Pallāyiravar were a force existing even prior to the advent of the Cōḻas in the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom.[82]

A number of Cōḻa inscriptions found at Āṉaiyūr (Tirumaṅgalam Tk) corroborate that the generals of the regiments (Paḍaittalaivan) took possession of endowed cows or sheep to deliver ghee to the temple lamps.[83]

Two grants both Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān conveyed the transfer of cash dues of 1 *accu* and 10 *accu* respectively to the Tiruvādavūr deity. The second record is ascribed to the 19th year of Māṟ. Kulaśēkhara. The orders were addressed to the agents (Kāraṇavar) of the forces in Kaḷavaḷināḍu and the agents (Kāraṇavar) of the forces of Paḷḷikkuricci.

In the first case the agents of the soldiery had sold land under Śirukuḷam in Kilādri village (Sivagaṅga taluk, adjoining Tiruvādavūr) with Kārāṇmai rights to the purchaser. The King granted in his 34th year the taxes in cash - *Kaḍamai Antarāyam, Ponvari, Tari Irai, Sekkirai, Tattōḷi, Tattārappāṭṭam* and all other āyams amounting to 1 *accu*.[84] This order was addressed to the Padaikāraṇavar of Kaḷavaḷinādu.

In the second order addressed to the Kārāṇavar of the soldiery in Paḷḷikuricci the cash-levies amounting to 10 *accu* presumably on the holdings of the soldiery were transferred to the Tiruvādavūr temple.[85] This was in the 29th year (AD 1297) of Mār. Kulaśēkhara I. Pallikkuricci is referred to as "Dēvadānam. Paḷḷikkuricci" alias Cōnāḍukoṇḍa perumāḷnallūr evidently named after Mār. Sundara I who had the title. The deed was granted to the *Ūrar*. could be inferred in the grant - village the kārāṇmai rights were held by the soldiery and the land-dues payable by the occupant-soldiery were granted to the temple.

A Tiruvēdagam grant in the 8th year of Mār. Sundara I (AD 1224-5) refers to a blood-grant (Udirappaṭṭi) to the Kaikkōḷa who had to keep watch and ward over the images of the deity. The lands were located among Pāganūrkkuṟṟam stations (nilaigaḷil) and were jīvitam muṟṟūttu lands of Servants stationed in Maṅgaikudi (Mangaikudi niṟkum sēvaka muṟṟūṭṭāna nilangaḷil. From the context it might be surmised that the Pāṇḍyan armymen weavers by profession were stationed at various Centres in Pāganūr Kūṟṟam adjoining the capital. Some of them might have met with a valiant death and a land-grant might have been made. They were charged with the function to guard the images.[86]

At Tirumōhūr (close to Madurai) too an army (Taṭṭānppaḍai) and the representative agents of the army (Paḍaikku Kārāṇavarum) and the *Ūrār* who had the authority to act for the township (*Ūrkku Samainda Ūrar*) sold land collectively undertaking the payment of tax-levies as the *Ūr*.[87]

This record confirms the inference that the armymen were the peacetime occupants and cultivators of land who could be called for army service in Pāṇḍyan expeditions. They too were organised in the same manner as other agricultural townships and discharged collective obligations.

At Tiruccunai (Mēlūr Taluk) a contingent of Swordsmen (Vāḷilār) had occupancy holdings and they were also collectively constitued into an *Ūr*. Dēvar Dvārapātivēḷān was perhaps their Chiftain. He had a number of Chiefs (Mudaligaḷ) One of them Agara tyāgi Munaiyadaraiyan carried out the orders of the Chieftain through the Vāḷilār providing for a Sandhi in his own name. For this purpose he granted a land reclaimed

by him and had the Kadamai payable by the Vāḷilār in one of their holdings and the Vāḷilārēmbal. The donor and the vāḷilār together executed the deed.[88]

In the 13th year of Kulaśēkhara the Vāḷilār of Suravaḷi Kaṇḍan village constituting collectively as the Ūrar (*Ūrāi Isainda Ūrār*) granted a charitable grant to Yagña nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭar from Śrīparāntaka Cm in Cōḷamaṇḍalam who had migrated thither. They excavated and reclaimed a land everyone of the Vāḷilār excavating reclaiming one kuḷi (Talaiyāl oru kuḷi kalli) and named the field in Bhaṭṭanēri ayacut as Vāḷilār. It was to the west of the hills in the village. They also fixed the land dues payable the Bhaṭṭa to this temple at 5 *kalams* per *mā* of wet land as *Kaḍamai* and *Antarāyam* at 1 *Dramam* per *mā*. For summer or first crop ½ of the rate. For dry crops like horsegram, varagu ¼ and for gingely 1 *draman* per *ma*. These levies were to the rendered to the temple of the Townships as granted by the Vāḷilār.[89]

The Chief ratified the above of his subordinates (aḍiyār) the Vāḷilār of Suḷivarakaṇḍan recalling that grant. This was later dated in the 4th year of Sundara Pāṇḍya. The Vāḷilār had assigned the revenue to he temple which they could not themselves do and hence it had to be ratified by the Chieftain who held the tract from the King.[90]

The evidence adduced is enough to conclude that all around Madurai the Pāṇḍyan solidiery were stationed and it had several sections, one of which were the swordmen. They were occupant agriculturists as well in peace time and were organised and functioning as any other agricultural township, the *Ūr*.

We may finally notice two grants from out of the soldiery at Paḷani. In the first case the soldiery of Sundarapāṇḍyanallūr had cultivated lands on Pāṭṭapparru (on a lease rental). This was exchanged for a Brahmadēya grant made at the time of the coronation of the ruler.[91] The second was a Irayili grant (of the land-dues) to 12 persons and it was addressed to the agents of the armed forces in Sundarapāṇḍyanallūr.[92]

To sum up the evidence amply brings out the extensive spread and the location of the Pāṇḍyan forces the manner of their holdings and the functioning.

The volume of evidence forthcoming is also the largest during the reign of the warrior King Mār. Sundara Pandya I. We may now attempt to interpret and suggest what the various terms denoted the terms that occur are :

Parigraham

Sēnapati daṇḍanāyagam

Tantram

Padai

Perumpadai

Mahāsēnaiyar

The Mūnṛu Kai mahāsēnaiyār figure mostly in Cōla-Colapānddya inscriptions. The term in some of the inscriptions seems to be synonymous with Padai Piditha Pallāyiravar. But it should be noted that this term already occurs in the Pāṇḍyan inscription of Vīra Pāṇḍya who took the head of the Cōḷan.

The Mahāsēnaiyār, the Perumpaḍai and Pallāyiravar signified the large army, the last term cannot denote its strength, except to suggest that it was large.

Parigraha, in Sanskrit Lexicography refers to the totality or the rear or reserve of the army[93] Hence this can be rendered as the Reserve Force to be called to military duty in campaigns as the need arose. Otherwise they were agricultural occupants on a par with other agricultural townships with the distinguishing feature only of liability of military service.

The term *'Tantra'* also means an 'army' or troops[94] and may to a garrison; not of a standing army but of a reserve liable to be called for military action.

The "Sēnāpati daṇḍanāyagam" is said to be included in the Tantra. Hence it should be a segment or an armour of the 'Tantra' or the garrison. It may signify the Commanders of the military forces as distinct from the foot-solidiery or the cadre.

The term 'Paḍai' can be rendered as a Regiment. We have noticed as many as eight Paḍais each represented by a signatory to a documents. The Paḍaitalaivan should be rendered as the head or chief of the regiment.

The 'Vāḷilār' could be one segment of the armed forces - the 'Swordsmen' The 'Villiyal' were the archers. There should have been undoubtedly a Cavalry and etc, Chieftain and Commanders. The Pandyan Kings were again and again purchasing horses from the Gulf countries the Arabs had a busy trade in it during the period. Marco Polo testifies to it, and how this purchase depleted the treasures of the king and if wassof were to be believed even of the temples.[95] There is hence reason to presume the Cavalry constituted one important segment of the Pāṇḍyan army. The story of Maṇickavāśagar being deputed to purchase horses by Pāṇḍya Varaguṇa is another

traditional evidence. No reference to any navy is however traceable but there could have been one, considering the coastal border, the rich pearl fishery and the number of roadsteads.

The executives of these land - occupant army men holding subsistance grants (*Jīvitam*) may be also noticed. The following terms occur :

Āraytci śeyvār

Taṇḍalnāyagam

Ūr Kaṇakku

Paḍai Kaṇakku, Tantra kaṇakku

The first term Araytci śeyvar could be rendered as executives who attended to the affairs of the soldiery. The Taṇḍalnāyagam were the Revenue Supervisors of the Township and attend to the collection of land dues and rentals. They invariably figure in grants made by the jīvitam holders from their lands or of assignments of the whole or part of the land dues or distributed levies decided by the *Ūr* or the garrison.

The *Ūr kaṇakku* is the Township-accountant. He attended to the land and revenue accounts of the Township as a whole of which *Jīvitam* or the occupant holding of army men was a part. Sometimes the solidiery itself had an accountant of its own (*Paḍai kaṇakku*). It is noticed that the incumbents in the cases cited were different. They could have been one and the same in smaller units of holdings. The '*tantra kaṇakku*' was the accountant of a garrison.

These suggestions can be offered as suitable. Inerpretations to be confirmed by further evidence. The data presented help to have an idea of the organisation of the armed forces under the Pāṇḍyas their spread, their functioning, the management of the affairs of the land-holdings and the conveyance of the part - interests from the land-dues and yield from jīvitam lands for charitable purposes and religious institutions.

It may be noted that the *Jīvitam* tenure was for contingent service or an estate upon condition. As such it is terminable or can be exchanged for other lands. But the force of 'longue duree' acted as a deterant and in some of the cases cited there is almost continuous evidence punctuating the period from the late 12th Century to the end of the 13th Century.

FOOT NOTES :

1. Please see 43 . 1931-32 - Tirumālugandānkōṭṭai. It refers to one Kañai-irukkai-nāṭṭu Mānayūr Tiruvuḍaiyān Dēvapirān alias Rājagaṇḍagōpālar who had the jīvitam of Ēḻur Sembi Nāḍu. Also 44 / 1931-32
2. For the history of Viraiyāccilai please see my "Pudukkōṭṭai Studies" and pp. 156-162 of my "Collected Papers".
3. SII V / 417 - Tirunelvēli
4. SII V / 452
5. SII V / 454
6. Ibid / 451
7. 353 / 1959-60
8. 354 / 1959-60
9. SII XIV / 167
10. Ibid / 170
11. 401 / 1907
12. 20 / 1905
13. 542 / 1916
14. SII XIV / 189. His name is Parākrama Nārāyaṇa Brahmaśrīrājan.
15. The Cōḻas - II/Pt. 1 (1933 Edition) p. 226
16. The Mūnṟukai Tiruvēḷaikkāran also in similar terms undertake the protection of Dalādayap perumbaḷḷi in Polannaṟuva in Śrī Lanka. They claim the Mātantirattōnkuḍi (i.e. regiments of soldiers) who claim their ancestors as Valañjiyar and those who hand in hand with them (eṅgalōḍu Kūḍivarum) Nagarattār uḷḷiṭṭār and the Buddhist shrine named after them was under their protection.

    E I XVIII - pp. 336-337 for text of the Polannaṟuva inscription of Vijayabāhu.
17. SII V / 753 They also occur in an inscription from Ūrmēlaḻagiyān (Tenkāsi taluk) - 616/1917.

    The temple or an endowment of sheep in Muttuliṅgapuram (Nallamaṟam) in Tirumaṅgalam Taluk was under the protection of Paḍaipiḍitta Pallāyiravar. This fragment is dated in the reign of Cōḻan Talai Koṇḍa Vīra Pāṇḍya. This indicates that this armed force had existed even prior to the advent of the Cōḻas (ARE 272/63-64) Pl. see **infra.**
18. 540 / 1916
19. 542 / 1916
20. 320 / 1923 - Tirukkōṣṭiyūr
21. 161 / 1935-36 - Kunnakkuḍi
22. The Cōḻas - Vol II / pt. 1 p. 15
23. Please see my paper on this inscription in my "Collectd Papers" pp. 104 pp.

24. 401 / 1907
25. 47 / 1929 Also 27 / 1929 Sivapuri
26. 134 / 1908
27. 467 / 1962-63. Also 326, 327 / 1961-62 all from Madurai referring to the new grants for deities and maṭhas in honour of the Hoysaḷa rulers.
28. 261 / 1928 Nānguṇēri
29. 265 / 1928
30. 253 / 1928 (AD 1229)
31. SII V / 417
32. 633 / 1916
33. 467 / 1916
34. SII V / 418
35. 554 / 1916 - Pattamaḍai
36. 559, 560 / 1916 - Pattamaḍai

    The reading "Dēsamanikkanallūr Padiyilār" seems to require further check. The rendering made here fits in with the context."
37. 588 / 1916 Pl. see my paper on "Kariśūḻndamangalam" in the "Collected Papers". p. 127
38. 429, 430 / 1916
39. 424 / 1916
40. 439 / 1916
41. 423 / 1916, from Attaḷanallūr registers the gift of the house to the Vināyaka deity named after Jagatoppagaṇḍar by men who had the supervision over the army."
42. 433 / 1916
43. 482 / 1916 - Pāppākkuḍi
44. 532 / 1916
45. 526, 527 / 1917
46. 523, 524, 525 / 1911
47. 523 / 1911
48. 525 / 1911
49. Tiruvōymoḻi - 8 - 2 - 4
50. Eg. 223 / 1933 (AD 1107)
51. Eg. 229 / 1933
52. 231 / 1923

53. 232 / 1933 - After the signatory for the 8th division there is a gap in the transcript of the inscription and it is not known if the last signatory signed for any additional division.
54. The term seems to be Vāḷam and not "vaḷavam" vide 241, 242/1933.
55. 229 / 1933. The correct name of the scribe should be as in 242/1933 given in brackets.
56. 241 / 1933
57. The dancing girl is named Sivagñānasambanda Talaikōli in 231/1923. Her name appears in 242/1923 as Nakkan Udaiya nācciyār alias Śivasi (Śri)gñānasambanda Talaikōli. Moreover the signatories in the two documents 229/1933, 242/1933 are mostly identical.
58. 43 / 1933
59. SII XIV / 267
60. 407 / 1916 Pl. see p. 35 of my "Rājēndra Viṇṇagar".
61. 396 / 1917
62. 390 / 1917
63. 394 / 1917
64. 391 / 1917 - Confer: The signatories to the Mannārkōil document above 407 / 1916. Please see pp. 35-36 of my "Rājēndra Viṇṇagar".
65. Please see my Historical Geography of the "Pāṇḍya Kingdom" (Part - I)
66. 395 / 1917
67. SII XIV / 267
68. "Foreign Notices of South India" - p. 165
69. Ibid p. 128
70. 524 / 1916
71. 525 / 1916
72. 398 / 1916 Pl. see pp. 33-34 of my "Rājēndra Viṇṇagar".
73. 616 / 1917
74. 615 / 1917
75. 582 / 1915
76. 586 / 1915
77. 610 / 1915
78. SII XXVI / 468
79. SII XXVI / 477
80. Ibid / 478
81. SII XXVI / 476, 478

82. 272 / 1963-64 Muttulingapuram
83. 500 / 62-63 (AD 1014)
    503 / 62-63 (AD 1018)
    506 / 62-63 (AD 1022)
    505 / 62-63 (AD 1026)
    507 / 62-63 (AD 1030)
84. 477 / 1962-63
85. 479 / 1962-63
86. 684 / 1905
87. 330 / 1918 Tirumōhūr
88. SII VIII / 410
89. Ibid / 418
90. SII VIII / 416
91. 301 / 1955-56
92. 302 / ḍ1955-56
93. Monier Williams - Sanskrit Dictionary p. 593
94. Ibid p. 436
95. Pl. See pp. 319-321 of my "Collected Papers" Also Foreign notices - pp. 166-167

CHAPTER - VII

IRRIGATION IN THE PĀṆḌYAN TOWNSHIPS

This study analyses the data gathered from inscriptions on irrigation in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. In a study of this rature chronology is of significance to note the evolution and development of practices. For one thing, irrigation sources systems and modes, rights and practices were rooted in customary usage and prescription. They were seldom allowed to be changed unless under compelling circumstances or the custom had ceased or had been rendered incapable of performance. As Prof. Maitland observed "there was an indefinite definiteness of rights" in the customary law of the medieval times and it could be contrasted with the "definite indefiniteness" of the enacted statutory law of the modern times. So then chronology serves as an aid for rather than an essential ingredient of presentation in a subject of this nature.

The core of the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom comprising the districts of Tirunelvēli, Rāmanāthapuram and Madurai have varied tracts; the characteristics of each tract and even within differ. In every district there is a river ribbon on either bank of which wet cultivation through canals flourished. But the genius of the Pāṇḍyan population secured a triumph over nature. They constructed weirs at a higher elevation of the river course and took long canals with capillaries therefrom to feed tanks. Also the surplus of the higher up source afforded the supply for the lower down tank till the very extremity where a large reservoir or a tank conserved as much as possible of the flood flows allowing only the inevitable surplus to flow to the sea. We have the instances of Kadamba tank at the Tāmbraparaṇi estuary the Rāmanāthapuram and Rajasiṅga Maṅgalam Tanks in the Vaigai and the Vaigai-Nāttārkāl-end in Rāmanāthapuram the Viḷathikuḷam, Vaipar tanks in Sāttūr, Inland tanks in the course of Ṣaṇmugānadi like Tiruvaikāvūr, Āykuḍi and Sinnamanūr on the Śuriḷiyaṟu course could also be cited.

The residual flow of the waters to the sea was however adequate for the sea crafts and boats to enter the roadstead. Inscriptional evidence of a number of roadsteads at the east coast from Kumarimuṭṭam (Cape Comorin) all along the Tiruccendūr coast. Vīrapāṇḍyanpaṭṭaṇam, Koṛkai, Paḷaiyakāyal and Toṇḍi and others similar ports on the Tiruvāḍānai Coast testify to the utility of the roadsteads and the sea faring activity of the residents therein as well as those from abroad, like the Arabs the Moors and the Egyptians touching the coast. This serves to indicate the natural flows of the rivers at their confluence were still enough to foster economic and commercial activity.

In tracing the manner of water use from rivers we mentioned the weirs and the canals taking off from them feeding a chain of tanks. This system had several inherent advantages. First no river, stream or jungle streams was left unharnessed to productive use. We have already noticed the significant but typical contribution of Iluppaikuḍi Kiḻavan in dealing with the early Pāṇḍyan townships. His was a pioneer effort to maximise the utility of flash flows in an otherwise arid and black cotton soil area. It was an index to show how development of irrigation had taken place in the early history of the tract and was coeval with the settlements therein.

Secondly, the weirs constructed in a services at all advantageous locations progressively such as at the joining of tributaries or a gradient from which the flows could be drawn and transmitted to a long chain of tanks. This allowed for all flood and flash flows to be utilised to the maximum. At the same time, the series of weirs was a safeguard for water use in sequence ensuring equitable distribution. The chain of tanks with cascading flows for supply again served the same end of filling every tank before every lower one got its supply.

The whole course of the river Vaigai from Tiruvēdagam to Rāmanāthapuram filling a number of tanks on the south bank of the Vaigai is an excellent example of this system. Kondagai, Tiruppūvaṇam, Māṟnād, Kaṭṭikulam, Tirupaccētti, Kiruṅgākkōṭṭai, Mānāmadurai, Iḷaiyāṅguḍi and a number of other Townships eating to this period are fed by the tanks bearing these names. They not only have individual channels of supply taking off the river Vaigai but the surplus of every higher up source feeds the tanks lower down in a chain or feed smaller tanks (ēndals) enroute. The obligation to fill up the higher up tanks and letting only water through the surplus course (as in some Tambraparni channel systems) might act to the detriment of the tail-end locations.

Their difficulty was met by adoption of turns (Muṟai) and even distribution of hours of supply (Nīr-Nāḻigai).[1] This ensured equitable supply and distribution. Another mode of ensuring equity was the allocation of lands in the head-reaches (Talai) middle (naḍu) and tail ends (Kaḍai) of the aycut, so that every occupant could have some parcels of the best, middling and last grades of supply conditioning productivity.

The stern system of turns was almost inflexible. Any transgression was visited with communal arbitration and frown instances are cited below from the epigraphs. Individual transgressions were relieved by invoking community action or alternatively led to feuds and fury even leading to killings. Lex Talionis was an accepted mode of redressal in the medieval times.

Secondly the tanks served an even better purpose. They helped to harvest rain water store and conserve it. Every tank had catchment areas ahead or on its side and

they filled up the tank with local fall. The tanks then were the effective source of water conservation and management optimising together the local realisation of rain water and the flood flows from the rivers or streams. They also ensured conservation of moisture and even foreshore lands were suitably cultivated with short-term crops like vegetables or irrigated dry crops.

The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom in this respected a contrast to the Cōḷa heartland where canal irrigation from the Cauvery was the only mode. If the upland monsoon failed and the freshes of the rivers dwindled or if the local rainfall was scarce, there was crop failure and distress.[2] In the Pāṇḍyan river basins the conjunctive use of river and rain water and storage system of tanks spread all along the available gradient helped to minimise distress of which one does not hear so often in the river tracts though in dry upland rainfed tracts this was noticeable.

In the Cōḷa river tract dry spells after the monsoon, and in mid-monsoon periods when flows got reduced and even drawing spells of rains in the monsoon if the fall was inadequate difficulty was experienced and yield got affected.

In the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom the tanks were an insurance against such dry spells reducing yield. They served as buffer storages and irrigation could be continuous irrespective of monsoon fall subject only to the storage capacity of tanks and the extent irrigated. This could also be one of the reasons apart from soil fertility for the generally higher yield,[3] noticed in the Tāmbraparaṇi tract as compared with the Cauvery delta.

The tanks were a contrast to the modern engineering technique of building reservoirs at the foothills. The spread of tanks their gradient and sequence and number ensured a more evenly distributed and orderly supply. They also had multipurpose use for the community's daily requirements for bathing washing and for cattle. The tanks also helped the subsoil water rechargo and in the summer or dry spells of short supply the wells, some sunk in the tankbed itself, afforded essential supply. Invariably such wells helped raise seedings. Tanks had other uses: the silt, the excavated earth was deposited on fields. It was incumbent on every occupant or his cultivator (kuḍi) to excavate the tank (Kuḷaveṭṭu) or deepen it and remove silt. The proceeds of the fisheries accrued to the community which invariable were utilised for tank upkeep and maintenance the surplus if any, being used for community purposes for celebrating the festivals of the village deities, Ayyanār or other Gods.

The impression should not be hastily gathered that the custom the conservation and the inflexibility of modes described acted as an impediment or deterrent against progressive extension of irrigation or wet cultivation. Far from it, the epigraphic evidence of the whole period from the 10th to 13th century is conclusive that attempts were

continuously made for the progressive extension of the ayacuts reclamation of land to wet and economy in the use of water and for accommodating new or additional uses by diverting the surplus water or taking off an extensional branch (Kavar) from the surplus course of the tank higher up or laterally. The community was conscious of such needs and possibilities and acted collectively. Conservative as they were in their instinct they were progressive in their determination.

We have described above by and large, the characteristic mode of irrigation in riverine tracts. The tanks were even more numerous in the rainfed areas, though necessarily and generally smaller in size. Instances could be cited from the uplands of Tenkāsi, Kōvilpaṭṭi and Saṅkaran Kōil Taluks. But there again the progressive tendency to conserve water, extend irrigation and bring lands under wet reclaiming lands was noticed.

These upland tracts had also widely used wells either as a primary source or for supplemental irrigation. The lands with wells more valued and better priced. Also a well by itself, even as water from the tanks was sold as "*nīrvilai*" Consideration was shown for lift irrigation and the labour involved in the rates of levy fixed cropwise for the *Kaḍamui* payable to the King or any assignee.

A general account of the modes of irrigation has been given above. These are illustrated below. In addition layout of the ayacut under the channels and under the tanks the breaches that occured and how they were repaired the maintenance of irrigation sources and the community obligations are all described besides well irrigation as gleaned from the epigraphic evidence.

Even prior to the 10th century irrigation channels, tanks and well irrigation this last especially in the upland areas of Kaḻugumalai (Neṟkunṟam) tract had been assiduously established and utilised. Their earlier development prior to the 10th century has been brought out in Chapter II.

Two inscriptions from Mannārkōil of the 13th year of Jaṭ. Sundara Cōḻa Pāṇḍya (AD 1030) bring out the types or modes of irrigation in describing the wet lands purchased and endowed to Rājēndra Viṇṇagar, the Viṣṇu temple erected in about AD 1021 by the Cēra ruler Rājasimha in the Pāṇḍya tract: the deity was named after the Cōḻa Suzerain.[3]

The lands sold lay in between to the north of the Tāmbraparaṇi (Taṉ Porundam alias Muḍigoṇḍa Cōḻappēṟāṟu) and south Gaṭana river (Rājarājappēṟāṟu). They were double crop, river fed (Āṟuppāccal), reclaimable land (Maḻukkāḍu) capable of being riverfed. Drylands (reclaimable) river fed double crop lands in Kōnāḍu (Kaḍayam), Pulkuḷam a tank excavated in a hamlet apparently by a merchant-benefactor

(Vārimāyilletti ēri) and its command (purankarai) on the other side of the bund, single crop land the land in its foreshore being a part of a water spread (Ikkulattagam Pū nīr kōvai nilam).[5]

The second inscription[6] refers also to the double crop riverfed lands to the back of the bund of the Pulkulam referred to.

Thus, wet lands were directly fed by river channels, taking off from the weirs thrown across the river to allow gradient flow. The tanks could also be fed by such river channels to store water. Alternatively there were purely rainfed tanks. Of course conjunctive storage of the river water and the flow from the immediate catchment ahead or on the sides was widely resorted to. The appreciation of the moisture content of soils and use was intense. Hence the foreshore cultivation in the tankbeds also prevailed. It is reasonable to presume that the community would not permit the cultivation of such crops as could diminish the tank storage for irrigating the seasonal wet crops. This kind of cultivation would be of such crops of short duration like vegetables like pumpkins or irrigated dry crops as the water receded therefrom or such crops as could be harvested even before the fillings commenced.

In water rich areas, fed by rivers or tanks in the rain shadow region below the ghats there was less need for wells. Wells were however, numerous in the arid uplands in Vāsudēvanallūr, Kōilpatti, Kalugumalai and other tracts. These are dealt with in detail below.

We may illustrate the type of irrigation sources in use. In riverine tracts the most facile and frequent mode was to construct a weir across the stream at a higher elevation and draw a canal at the most favourable contour making use of the natural gradient. They were also connected to tanks especially in the periphery of the river-course.[8]

In the area more dependent on rain the ēmbals or small tanks were common. They were also sometimes located at the extremities of the ayacuts under bigger sources to store the surplus flows as and when available. Local streams like Nāttarkāl were also harnessed to fill them up. This mode was quite common in Rāmanāthapuram District.[9]

Well irrigation and lift irrigation where direct flows were not feasible are noticed in areas where surface irrigation was seasonal or undependable. Such locations are : Vijayanārāyanam (despite its big tank)[10] Mēlainilītanallūr[11] Vāsudēvanallūr[12] Sōlapuram (Srivilliputur)[13] Kunnattūr[14] and Kūttappanippatti[15] hamlet of Nāvinipatti. Tiruttangal[16] seems to be particularly depending on surface tank irrigation and equally on groundwater and a large number of wells for conjunctive use are noticed therein. In

Kōvilānguḷam in a recorded transaction if one well was not enough the vendee could take water from another[17] This township was in Aruppukkōṭṭai Taluk.

We get a clear idea of the layout of the ayacut lands. This differed as between a river-channel command and that under a tank. Under the river channeals the sluices were numbered and the parcels of a Oḻugu or traverse location account. Thus in a grant for a Maṭha at Kalliḍaikkuṟicci lands given in the southern hamlet of Madiḷkuṟicci were to the west of the southern river.

Ist Kaṇṇāṟu	3rd (Śey) field ½ mā
	4th (Śey) field 1 mā
	5th (Śey) field 1 mā
	6th (Śey) field 1 mā
Ist Kaṇṇāṟu	3rd (Śey) - ½ mā
	4th (Śey) - 2 mā
	5th (Śey) - 2 mā
2nd Kaṇṇāṟu	2nd (Śey) - 1 mā
	3rd (Śey) - 1 mā
	4th (Śey) - 1 mā
	5th (Śey) - 1 mā

This brings out that the standard or average size of a parcel was 1 mā, though due to partitions they could become subdivided. The fragmentation of holdings had however helped the equitable distribution of the lands enjoying irrigational advantages which varied from sluice to sluice.[18] In another inscription[19] from the same township the Dēvadāna lands were located under ten differnt sluices of a main channel. Nallūr Puravuvarivāykkāl.

The lands were also classified as the highest the second and the third according to the rates of assessment borne and the grant comprised lands under different Tarams and not all of one and the same taram.[20]

In the Vaigai fed Tenkarai lands of Brahmadēya tenure were converted into Dēvadāna and the plots specified. They were irrigated by Bhakta Janālayā channel

(Pilār) taking off from the main canal from the Vaigai river irrigating Pattākuricci a western hamlet of Śōlāntaka Cm (Śōlavandān). The following are the lands located: 15th sluice - north of Kūvāṇai channel - Pādagam or fields Nos. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20 (9 fields). To the west of the same channel north of the branch Channel (Vadi) in the 16th (Śadiram or Square) 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20 (9 fields). To the west of the same channel 17th sluice - north of the branch channel 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20 Pādagam (9 fields). To the west of the channel, 18th sluice - north of the branch Channel (*vadi*) 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20 (9 fields). To the west of the same channel 19th square to the north of the branch channel - 12 to 20 *Pādagams* (9 fields). To the west of the channel, 20th square - north of the branch channel- *Pādagams* 12 to 20 *Pādagams* and 23rd *Pādagam* - northern bit of 24th *Pādagams* (11 fields). To the west of the channel - 21st square - to the north of the channel 12 to 20 *Pādagam*. 23rd *Pādagam* to the north, 24th *Pādagam* (11 fields). To the west of the channel 22nd square to the north of the branch channel - 12 to 17 Pādagam (6 fields).

This is an important evidence of the layout of ayacut of the ayacut lands. The Pilār (channel) was flowing north-south from the 15th sluice from the main channel. The branch channel (*vadi*) was flowing east-west. All the ayacut irrigated by it lay to the north of the branch channel. The fields or command fed by a branch channel were divided into blocks (*Sadiram*) or square and (*pādagams*) parcels of lands within each blocks were numbered. The maximum number of parcels within each block ran as many as 20 to 24. The inscription is dated in the 3rd year Jat. Śrīvallabha (AD 1093).[21] The total extent of the lands so localised was 3½ *vēli* and *mā*. In all 72 *mā* of lands were located in 73 *pādagams*. It can be derived that one *padagam* was about 1 mā. This strengthens the presumption that the *padagam* and the *śey* denoted a field which was about 1 *mā*. The whole extent was constituted into a separate unit and named Puravuvarivilāgam.

If the channel head was located to optimise command the contour was not defied. The numbering of the sluices and of the blocks and the fields within helped maintain *olugu* accounts and locate and identify parcels of lands and enjoyment. The "*pādagam*" could, perhaps be the equivalent of "*śey*" occurring in the inscriptions elsewhere.

In the tank fed areas as in Uñjanai, the tank, the ayacut and the parcels of land (*Tadi*) by their names are given for localisation and identification.[22] The field names often indicated the name of the original reclaimer of the land or some local identification mark like Vannārtidal Māñjey etc. Examples of the former are Rāmanārśey Kūrranūrān śey. Also the particular sluice the high level or middle or low level sluice and sometimes the proper name of the sluice, if it had one is indicated.[23]

CONSTRUCTION OF IRRIGATION SOURCES

The construction of irrigation sources was an essential ingredient for any settlement and for bringing lands under cultivation. Wet cultivation was preferred for the staple cereal requirements to be produced. Its higher value was too well recognised compared with the millets. The land assessment on the wet lands was also far higher. As has been pointed out elsewhere.[24] The medieval land-grants were themselves the instruments for economic development for extension of cultivation and irrigation. The first act of the community to whom the grant was made or who formed the settlement was to explore and exploit the scope for constructing a weir across the river or stream and excavate canals and take water for irrigation directly through the channel or storing in tanks to be drawn through sluices. In rainfed tracts tank construction of varied sizes from a lake (*pērēri*) to a small pond (*Ēmbal*) were undertaken. If the surface water collection was insufficient and needed supplementation or there was no scope for it wells were sunk. We cite below specific instances from inscriptions:

In the 33rd year of Parāntaka I (AD 940) the Sabhaiyār of Naraśiṅgamaṅgalam a Brahmadēya in Kīḻiraṇiyamuṭṭam gave a deed to the officer of the Cōḻa emperor Arunidikaliyan of Marudūr in Puraṅkarambai Nāḍu.[25] The latter purchased from the Sabhā land which had also scope for excavating a tank. The deity Narasiṅgapperumāḷ of Ānaimalai[26] had the obligation to pay 18 *Īḻakkāśu*. The Sabhaiyār had received 15 *Īḻakkāśu* as deposit to defray one-third of the land due i.e. 6 *Īḻakkāśu*. The interest rate works out to a high 40%.

In addition they received the balance of 12 *Īḻakkāśu* from the Vendee. The land sold was under Ūruḍaiyānkuḷam alias Kaliyanēri. The Sabhaiyār allowed the vendee to excavate to the tank and to extend and increase the height of the tank bund as much as he wished. This could enable him to increase the capacity of the tank. In addition the Sabhaiyār allowed him to impound as much quantity of water as he wished consistently with the increased capacity of the tank and thereby irrigate two *vēlis* of land. He had to measure 300 *kalams* of paddy to the deity.

Tank breaches in floods or heavy rains were common. The lands reverting to nonarable condition or fallows were often noticed. Reclamation efforts were undertaken repeatedly. In Kanyākumari in the 29th year of Mār. Vikrama Cōḻapāṇḍya the mahāsabhā (Perumakkaḷ) of Rājarājēśvaram (i.e. the western part of Kumari) resolved and recorded their proceedings (Sabhākārya) as below. A merchant of Kumari (Gaṅgai Koṇḍa Cōḻapuram) Āccan Maṟṟili donated an amount of 20 kāśu partly collected as subscriptions. The 20 kāśu were utilised for reconstructing the Kōnāḍar kuḷam which had breached in a big flood and was not in use. The Mahāsabhā also allowed a straightcut channel from the . . . . laikkuḍi canal.[27]

In the reign of Rāj. Kulōttuṅga I it was noticed that Muḷḷippaḷḷam in Tirukunṟattūr (to the south of Tirunelvēli) had no occupants. The lands were lying waste. On the orders of Vēśāliparaiyar as commanded by the Prince on the request of Tirunelvēli udayan the Sabhaiyār of Uttama Cōḷa Cm in Kīḻkaḷakkūṟṟam were inducted into possession.[28]

The lands were in a facile location. It was surrounded on its south and east by the Uttama Cōḷa channel . . . and the Sabhaiyar were permitted to take the water from the sluice on the Uttama Cōḷa Channel itself and bring back the lands under paddy cultivation. Apart from a levy of 4 *kāśu* and 4 *kalams* of paddy per *mā* the Sabha occupants had no other land dues obligations or any services (*Kuḍimai*) to be rendered.

Another case of the 43rd year of Kulōttuṅga I (AD 1112-13) was in Maṇappaḍaivīḍu, which was then named as Ambalattāḍinallūr which was the eastern hamlet of Uttama Cōḷa Cm referred to above. It was a garrison township. The land granted to Tirunelvēli uḍaiyār though surrounded by two tanks on the south and by an old channel also on the west was lying in a state of a shrub-jungle. These lands too lay to the north of Uttama Cōḷa Vāykkāl. The Mahāsabha regranted this land to the Dēvakanmīes (temple executives); they themselves had to reclaim the land and resume cultivation.[29]

Reference has already been made to the great benefactions of Iluppaikkuḍi Kiḻavan in constructing weirs tanks channels and importing other amenities during the reign of the early Pāṇḍya ruler Varaguṇa. In course of time they had fallen into disuse and needed repairs. In the 32nd year of Kulōttunga I (AD 1102-3) the tanks in Ālanguḍi land in Iluppaikkuḍi - there were several of them - in Iruñjō Nāḍu became defunct as the inlet channel from the river (Vaippāṟu) had for long been damaged and could not draw water. One of the Araiyars belonging to the household servants of Aḻagiyapāṇḍya Karunīlakkuḍi Nāḍālvār re-excavated the open head channel to enable it to draw water. The *Ūrār* of Ālaṅguḍi greatfully granted him a tax-free land of 1 *mā* under Peṟṟāṉēri and black soil land 10 *mā*[30] in extent.

In the reign of Kulōttunga I a land resurvey was undertaken and strenous efforts to reclaim lands for productive cultivation and thereby augment land revenue were noticed.[31] This activity conspicuous as it was in the Cōḷa country could also be noticed in the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom though the Cōḷa authority was on the verge of slipping away therefrom.

About the same time (3rd year of Māṟ. Śrīvallabha (Circa AD 1093) a dam was constructed by Ūraṇi Araiyan Madurāntakan alias Karunīlakkuḍi Nāḍāḷvān of Iruñjō nāḍu[32] and to mark the bund of the tank (anaikuri) a stone was set up. From the

use of the term "*Ūraṇi*" it could be inferred it was a drinking water source or a public utility. This slab is found at Veppilaippaṭṭi a village in the same location.

The most conspicuous example of the canalisation of water the established rights and the attempt of constructing a new wein to which the lower riparian objected and had to be abandoned consequently comes from Kōil Kuruvitturai on the southern bank of Vaigai.

Already canal irrigation from Vaigai through Parākrama Pāṇḍyan Kāl had been well developed. In addition canals had been taken to irrigate lands in Cōḷāntaka Cm (Cōḷavandān) lowerdown. In an attempt to bring under wet cultivation a Sarvakratukkaḷ got a royal grant and constructed a weir near Mēṭṭuppaṭṭi at a higher level above the weir from which the Cōḷāntaka Cm occupants took water. The Brahmin occupants went to Madurai, waited on the king and objected to this new construction which would interfere with the flow of water to the lowerdown lands. The king Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha upheld their objection and the new weir was demolished and filled with earth. The established ayacuts were assured of their supply.[33]

We have already noticed the Vāḷilār of Suḷivarakaṇḍan collectively excavated a tank and formed an ayacut and endowed it to the temple.[34] In another instance it was an individual who reclaimed old waste land and provided irrigation and granted it to a Brahmin migrant from Cōḷa maṇḍalam.[35]

In Tirumaṅgalakkuṟicci, (Circa 12th Century) a sluice was constructed by Sādujanāśrayan Kōśalai Nāḍāḷvan Nīlakaṇṭan Niraniñjān.[36] In the same place in 13th year of Māṟ. Sundara one Poneṟaināyar alias Koḍiyēṟṟunambi Poduvan of Malaimaṇḍalam constructed a sluice in the Sundarapāṇḍya Pērēri (lake) in Venṟumuḍiśūḍiya Sundarapāṇḍya Cm in Āri nāḍu.[37]

Reclamation effort was frequently resorted to in the uplands of Kōilpaṭṭi and the dry tracts in Rāmanāthapuram. In Tirukkaḷakkuḍi the Maramudalis sold land being their collective holdings of the township. Rājēndra Cōḷan Kudikkāḍu and Śeḷiyan ēmbal in a public auction to a Bhaṭṭa a priest in the temple. The sale deed stipulated that the vendee could fill up the tanks included in sale property. He could excavate a channel west wards to afford or augment supplies. He could also fill up and store water to the maximum water level of the tank.[38] In one case the vendee was permitted to club two tanks into one to augment supplies and to provide better command.[39]

A Dēvadāna tank Uñjanai had several sluices in Tirumēni aḷagiya Nallūr. The priests and the temple executives could not raise crops, nor construct irrigation sources. Year after year the lands were lying waste and consequently there was no yield to

conduct services and make offerings to the deity. They hence sold the land to one Śōlaimalaiperumāḷ alias Maṉ Śumandāṉ of Siṟukambūr (Poyyāmoḻinallūr) in Vaḍapāmbāṟu in Miḻalai Kuṟṟam for him to reclaim the lands.[40]

A record of the 6th year Māṟ. Sundara I (AD 1222) specifically provide that as per the ancient custom in vogue the Polināṅguḍi Tank lying in the midst of dry lands to the south of the temple precints of Tirumattukkarai nāyanār shall continue to receive inflows from Mattilāṟu.[40-A]

In the uplands of Rāmanathāpuram, even drinking water and conserving rains was more important than irrigation sources. In AD 1193 an ūraṇi was constructed at Aruppukōṭṭai by Aruḷālagappeumāḷ son of Cōḷa Gaṅga of Tiruvālavāyuḍaiyāṉ[41] Añjādaperumāḷ excavated a canal to the east of an ūraṇi for water to flow : the ūraṇi perhaps, was excavated by a merchant-chief (Paṭṭaṇasvāmi) at Iḷayāthākuḍi.[42]

In the 11th year of Vīrapāṇḍya the king granted a tax-free land ½ *mā* in extent for the maintenance of an *ūraṇi* (*Ūraṇippuṟam*) excavated by Aṟuputhakūttan of Iraṇiyūr.[43] The *Ūrār* of Iraṇiyūr followed suit, undertook to defray the residual taxdues on the ½ *mā* from the collective funds of the township.[44]

In Tirunelvēli a tank had breached and ayacut had been laid waste. A devotee purchased the land. He hailed from Tāḷaikkuḍi in Malaimaṇḍalam. As the lands had to be reclaimed the earlier levy of 14 *accu* was reduced and an immutable levy of Kaḷañju per year was fixed to be paid after the tank was restored and the lands were reclaimed.[45] In Kallidaikkuṟicci in the 11th year of Māṟ. Vikrama (Circa pre 1190) 6½ *mā* were sold by the Mahāsabha to the temple. But the lands had an irrigational disadvantage.

Neither the initial fresh supplies nor the last few wettings could be had; hence the duration of the availability of water was shorter than others. Hence, a concession of 2 *accu* was granted and the Tarappaḍi Accu 13 was fixed as the basis for the sale price.[46] The King too granted a remission of taxes including *antarāyam* on this land.[47] Another way of meeting such differential advantages in irrigation was to grant lands under the head sluice or reaches, under the mid-sluice and the tail end in a mix.[48]

From the evidence above it is clear that there was no state outlay on the construction of works. The King's Officers and the Chieftains had taken interest in creating and reconstructing sources, strengthening the bunds and in increasing the capacity of the tanks, ponds and *ūraṇis* for drinking water. Atmost remission of levies due was granted. But in the medieval times customary labour rendered free public utilities was common and the beneficiaries could be enjoined upon to construct weirs

benefitting their lands, excavate canals, and tanks even in areas far ahead or beyond their own residential townships or in which the lands lay. Labour should have been comparitively cheap too inferring from the known level of wages a pair of clothings per year and food-for the garden tenders or for workers reclaiming lands.

The role of the community, their physical contribution of labour and their responsibilities for the upkeep of the public utilities are even more evidenced in the maintenance of the irrigation sources. Of cource damages due to acts of God or Nature, beyond the capacity of the local community were attended to with the benefaction of interested individuals or chiefs or others.

We now examine the evidence from inscription in specific cases and how they were implemented.

In the 12th year of Jat. Śrīvallabha (AD 1102) there was heavy downpour in the month of Māśi (February-March) rather unusually. The Manōmayan ēri, the big tank of Vijayanārāyaṇa Cm breached to the West of the Western sluice; there were 32 breaches also in the supply channel to the tank. The tank was fed by the Nāttār (Nambiār) and a few streams taking off from the Nānguṇēri uplands. The flash flows of summer rains were too heavy that year. These were not repaired untill Nambi Śaṅkaran Vāsudēvan of Turuthimaṅgalam who was managing the affairs of Ravi Kōdaivarman the Veṇādu ruler. In grateful recognition of this public service the Mahāsabha of the Brahmadēya named the supply channel as Śrīvāsudēvapērāṟu, and the bund as Vāsudēvan big bund. To further maintain the bund and attend to its embankment in future the benefactor Vāsudēvan also purchased a land (3½ *kāṇi*) and endowed it. It yielded for 2 crops 4 *kalams* which the occupants of the land were to measure towards the future maintenance. The land so purchased were in 2 parcels, to the south of Tirunīlakaṇṭan canal east of the mid-field channel taking off from the 8th canal, in the first pāḍagam and 2nd pāḍagam.[49]

This was too heavy a breach beyond the capability of the Mahāsabhā collective action. The manager of the affairs of the neighbouring Vēnādu ruler who had apparently interests here closed the breaches and strengthened the bund. He also participated in the proceedings of the Mahāsabhā in implementing the Cōḷa ruler Kulōttuṅga I's order granting tax free lands in AD 1101.[50]

He had purchased lands too from his own funds and endowed them for future maintenance.

In passing, we may notice the increasing benefactions by the migrants from Keraḷa or those who sought service from Malaimaṇḍalam under the rising Pāṇḍyas. This trend

was particularly noticed after the time of Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara and during the reign of Mār̤. Sundara I.

One Seṇbagappērai Nāyar of Malaimaṇḍalam provided for the sacred bath of the Vānamāmalai emberumāḷ in AD 1236.[51]

A certain Paḷḷiccai Vikraman Ādiccadēvan alias Aghōra Dēva of Malaimaṇḍalam completed the building of the temple of Tirukkotīśvaram - Udaiyār which had been left unfinished at Ūr̤kāḍu - also in the same reign.[52]

In the 5th year of Mār̤. Vikraman, Seṅgoḍikkunṟan Sakrāyudan alias Vikramapāṇḍyapanman of Malaimaṇḍalam gifted a land for the services in Malayaḍikuricci temple. The King at the request of his brother-in-law remitted the land dues while being seated at Aḷḷiyūr (Vaḷḷiyūr)[53]

The great fillip to grant lands for occupancy reclamation of lands and settlements given by Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara was already noticed in an earlier Chapter. In about the 14th year of his reign (AD 1204) while the King was seated in his palace at Madurai the Sabhaiyār of Suttamalli alias Vīravinōda Cm. supplicated to him. One among the Brahmin residents presumably, Karāmbiccettu Āḷvān-Bhatta Atirātraiyājiyār represented to the King that the tank in their village needed to be excavated and deepened (*kuḷam Kallavēṇumenṟu*). The tank was itself named after the King, Kulaśēkharappērēri. For deepening the tank the King donated per year 1000 Dramam from out of the Antarāya dues tendered to the King by the Brahmin occupants. The King further ordered that this permanent remission order be shown to the temple authorities and the accountants of Tirunelvēli deity (to whom apparently the *Kaḍamai* dues from the Brahmadēya lands were granted already.[54]

This was a special grant. The deepening of the tank and silt clearance could have been more than what the customary labour of the service holders could render. There was no regular maintenance grant otherwise, but this grant was on a specific request of an influential Brahmin resident for repairs beyond their own capacity and perhaps, resources.

In the 17th year of the same ruler (AD 1207) the Mahāsabha of Nigarilicōḷa Cm resolved that from the proceeds of *Kaḍamai* apportioned levies (*viniyōgam*) Nīrttūṇi (*Tūṇi* paddy for water) *māttūṇi* (*Tūṇi* paddy per *mā*) and all other levies from ½ *mā* and *mundirikai* be utilised for supplying and depositing one stone per day in the Tirumañjana Tuṟai (the place of ghat in the river from which water was taken for bathing the deity) in order to raise the level of water (Alaiyēṟṟu) because the depth of water in the river flow was not adequate to get clear and flowing water. The endowment was made out of the tax proceeds of a land purchased by one Śrīvallabha

Parasurāmar from the Mahāsabhā for being denoted to the temple as "*Kārāṇmai dēvadāna*."[55]

This was, perhaps an exceptional case where the Nīrttūṇi (the paddy due for water) was remitted. In two other cases, while other items of minor levies and apportioned levies were remitted - the Nīrttuni was specifically excepted (Nirttuni nīngalaka)[56]. In these two cases the lands were wet and irrigated and yielding and as such the levy of Nīrttūṇi being a water regulatory or maintenance charge was insisted upon.

A grant from Pāppākkuḍi[57] stipulated that from the paddy yield, about 1 *kalam*, *Tūṇi* and the fishery rentals from Śālaikkuḷam Tank, the first charge was to utilise it for the deepening of the tank and for the repairs to the sluices. The balance of the yield was assigned for constructing a hall in the temple.

Attention paid to the tank maintenance is equally attested by inscriptions of the reign of Māṟ. sundara Pāṇḍya.

A thirteenth century epigraph from Mānūr recorded that two persons had fallen and died in the Tuṟai (ghat) of Madurāntakappērāṟu (presumably the kal feeding Mānūr tank from Cittāṟu) and a third Śāttappan had entred into the low level sluice to open the sluice and died.[58] It should be noted that the sluices were constructed a short distance from the bund inside the tank or channel and to open the sluice, one had to swim and dive inside and lift the stone boulder or shutter. In the process, this sluice-operator had died. 3 *mā* of land in all was granted by the Nāḍāḷvan and the Mahāsabha granted it as Iṟaiyili to Śāttappan and the other two deceased and their successors in title.

In the 9th year of Māṟ. Sundara the Mahāsabhā of Mānūr resolved as requested by the executive looking after the affairs of the township - one Kēraḷādiccadēvan alias Kōrai Śēndan of Kuḍamaṅgalam in Malaimaṇḍalam for the merit of the Vēnāḍu Chief, Tiruppāpūr mūtta Tiruvaḍi. A Sabhā niyōga granted the paddy at stipulated rates on the land-dues bearing-lands fed by the tank for excavating the tank bed and for filling revetment stones (Kuṇḍutōrum Kuḷiyum veṭṭi Kallum mērpiṭṭu).[59]

In the 11th year of Māṟ. Sundara I, an order was issued "fixing the taxes to be levied on the dēvadāna and other lands belonging to the temples of Arikēsarīśvaramuḍaiya Nāyanār and Iyalkāṭṭīśvaramuḍaiya Nāyanār at Kaḷakkuḍi for the annual deepening and upkeep of the tank called Parāntakappērēri irrigating them". (AD 1227)[60]

Unfortunately, the text is not available and the specific details of the land levies fixed are not known. But it is clear that the maintenance of the tank and its deeping were purely the obligation of the ayacut-lands and occupants and not that of the State. Also it is surmised the "extra levies" did not abridge the payments due to the King

as the customary land levies like *kadamai*. Even dēvadāna lands were not exempted from the levies.

In AD 1232 (16th year of Mār. Sundara I), It was recorded that the Dēvadāna lands under the tank Sri Parāntakappērēri and the shares of the service holders together measured *Tūṇi*, 5 *mā śey* against which 2 *Kuḻi* of the waterspread had to be desilted per year. In addition 30 kalams of lease rental per year and the 70 kalams of fishery rental per year were also to be utilised for desilting and excavation of the tank during the off season i.e. from Citrai (April-May) to Ani (June-July) months, and these excavated portions shall be measured to the satisfaction of the temple authorities, the priests, the Superintendent of Sri Mahēśvara Kaṇkāṇi and the officers of Sundarapandya.[61]

Mention has been made already of the weirs, across rivers and streams and *calingulas* on tanks from which the surplus course takes off. These appears to have had guards to watch that no breaches occurred and immediate repair work was undertaken. The Aṇai Kāppār (the watchman of the anicuts) sold one of their lands granted for their needs (*Tēvai*). Six such watchmen who sold the lands were all illiterate. They were said to be engaged in the service of the deity of Tirunelvēli but residing at Maṟavarkurici.[62]

The dry uplands of Rāmanāthapuram depended more on rains and even drinking water and water for sacred bath of the deities had to be conserved in ponds or tanks specially constructed. Their maintenance also needed proper attenction we have a few instances of the care bestowed on such works.

In Śivapuri, in the 5th year of Vikrama Pāṇḍya the Dēvakanmīes of the temple were themselves to supervise and collect the Mēlvāram from the occupant-tenants holding two specified lands which shall be utilised for the maintenance of a tank Tirumēniaḻagiyān as Kuḷappaṭṭi.[63] Perhaps this was a tank supplying water to the temple and the township.

So too in the 20th year of Mār. Kulaśēkhara-I (AD 1288) the temple executives were enjoyed to collect the Mēlvāram from some other parcels and under their supervision deepen a new Punyavāṭṭi ēmbal excavated by a benefactor.[64]

An artisan, Vīra Śiṟandān Ānandanāḍan had purchased land under the Śāikkaḷūr Tank Vairavadaraiyar. This was for the purpose of maintaining the pool within from which the water for the second bath of the deity was taken the steps and the bathing ghat of the tank. In recognition of the public service the Ūrār of Sāikkaḷūr in Perumbū Nāḍu rendered it as *iṟaiyili* and entered the land as such in the revenue register.[65]

The Tirumukkulam in Śrīvilliputtūr is a famous tank where the festival of Āṇḍal in the month of Mārgaḷi is performed. The Mahāsabhā of the township met and resolved that every year all able-bodied men shall for every person excavated 1 big Kuḷi and dig a small kuḷi in the feeding channel for the tank. This was in the reign of Kulaśēkhara.[66] This tank even today is the principal bathing place and water source for Srivilliputtūr.

A Kōnērinmai koṇḍān grant separated the lands held by Bhagavati Viṇṇagar Aḷvar and accounted for it separately as "*Viṣṇu Citta Viḷāgam*" and assigned miscellaneous revenue as Dēvadāna. It stipulated however that grant will include the tank water spread and the canal which fed the tank "with the waters of Tirumalai (a hillock) nearby from the ancient times" thus carefully ensuring the customary rights of taking water for the tank even when a regrant constituting it into a separate revenue village was made.[67]

Kāḷaiyārkōil is in the dry uplands of Sivagaṅgai Taluk. The endowed tanks and ayacuts were prone to be breached and rendered uncultivable due to heavy rains and flash flows or alternatively due to drought. In the 40th year of Māṟ. Kulasekhara-I (AD 1308) a dancing girl of the temple of Tirukkāṇappēr (Kālaiyārkōil) had purchased 3 Dēvadāna tanks from another dancing girl. The purchase included 3 tanks waterspread, waste lands,wet lands, dry nattam and nattam waste and the supply channels to the tanks. These tanks had sometime earlier got breached, the lands were waste and the supply channel had became obliterated. The purchaser had to excavate and reconstruct the tank, reclaim the land render it fit for wet cultivation. In consideration thereof, the lands could not bear the prior assessment. It was rendered *Iṟaiyili* and 2 *kalams* of paddy for the *Kār* crop on lands which had come to yield and for the 3 tanks, cash levy of ½ *accu* (equal to 14 paṇams) for the sandal paste offering to the deity were the only rates of land-dues to be levied on concessional terms. And all other levies were remitted according to the orders of the King (king's brother) Vīra Pāṇḍya. The *Ūrār* executed the order and directed it to be engraved accordingly.[68] It may be mentioned in passing, the dancing girls attached to temples were generally noticed to have capaital resources sufficient to undertake such public works.

We already noticed several other instances of such reclamation of land and tank restoration. These works had to be undertaken, repeatedly, in the red sandy and loamy soils of the uplands of Rāmanāthapuram, which were prone to severe cyclonic storm and rains breaching the tanks or severe drought. In this respect, the tract shared the characteristics of Pudukkōṭṭai. The inferences drawn from the evidence therein will be equally applicable to this tract.[69]

In the 4th year of Mār. Sundara Pāṇḍya I (AD 1230) in Kunnattūr (Madurai Taluk) a breach bad occurred in between Iluppai maḍai sluice and sappaimalai, presumably because of the flash flows from the immediate catchment. The breach was closed by a benefactor from Malaimaṇḍalam (Kerala) Ventalaiccēri Kaṇḍan Kōthai alias Aḻagiyarāma Pallavaraiyan. He might have been a native of Kerala who might have sought service under the Pāṇḍya ruler.[70]

In Ulagāṇi (Tirumaṅgalam) Tank, there was an earlier perhaps oral order that the cash proceeds in (*accu*) from fishery rentals (Pāśipāṭṭam) from the tanks in the village shall be utilised for the deepening of the irrigation tanks. Kaṇḍiya Devan (a Chieftain under Mār. Sundara I and II) gave a written deed that the proceeds of the fishery rentals shall be defrayed for the deepening and silt-clearance of the tanks every year.[71]

A similar order permitting the utilisation of the lease rentals from fisheries in the tank (ērippāṭṭam) in Rājacūḍamaṇi Cm for the deepening and silt cleanance of the tank in the 9th year of Sundara Pāṇḍya was recorded at Kullāpuram (Periyakuḷam taluk)[72]

In Āykuḍi in Vaikarināḍu, the garrison (Paḍaiyār) of Sundara Pāṇḍya Nallūr were cultivating the tanks 64 *mā* in extent. In addition several other Devadana and other lands measuring 612 *mā*, in all, had to be reclaimed as they were rendered uncultivable due to the weir having given way and tank breaches. These were granted clubbing them into a new Agrahāram, named AvaniVēndarāma Cm (120 shares) and adding 8 shares donated during the coronation of the King for 8 persons, they were rendered tax-free subject only to a determined lumpsum levy of 720 *kalams* per year. This was dated the 23rd regnal year of a King who is not named in a Kōnērinmai Koṇḍān grant.[73] The purpose of the Brahmadēyan grant itself was to reclaim the lands fallen waste, to reconstruct the tanks and the weir. It was the obligation of the grantees to undertake these works. Perhaps the lumpsum levy was concessional, in lieu of the capital expenditure and labour involved in undertaking these re-clamation works.

The benefactors were sometimes gratefully remembered and their image sculpted on stone. A late instance (Vikranti year) of the Nāyak times of one Peṭṭikāvuṇḍan si to be found on a tank called Ponnākuḷam in Villayanpaṭṭi.[1]

Irrigation rights and regulation

The earliest record of the Sabhā of Arikēsarinallūr a Brahmadēya in Aḷa Nāḍu is significant. It is dated in the 46th year of Śaḍaiyan Māṟan. It records the decision (Kaichcham) of the Sabhā those who raised an early Kuṟuvai, taking water beforehand

from Śrīkaṇṭa Vāykkāl shall be liable to pay a fine of 10 *kāśu* per *mā* and even after paying the fine they shall not raise any early crop.

The branch channels shall also be opened for water to be let down for irrigation according to the recorded decision.[75]

Presumably the appropriation of water in the head reaches for the kuṟuvai early crop had led to inequitable distribution and hence the resolution of the Sabhā to regulate the flows and manner of opening of the branch channels.

Twelve inscriptions from Kōilkuruvitturai[76] of Jāt. Śrī Vallabha from the 11th to 22nd year (AD 1101 to AD 1112) gives the whole history of an attempt to open up a channel from Vaigai to irrigate higher up lands on the South bank and convert them to wet in exchange for lands in the northern bank. The lower riparians of Cōḻāntaka Cm Sabhaiyār objected. The reclaimer a sarvakrutugaḷ had to abandon his attempt to dig a new canal and he relinquished the lands. The newly excavated canal was closed and filled up. As a consequence the lands not benefitted were granted remission.

The whole history of the case has been detailed in my study "Grant, resumption and regrant" an extract of the inferences drawn are reproduced below.[77]

The period late 11th and early 12th centuries had witnessed active efforts to reclaim lands to extent irrigation and wet cultivation. The Parākrama Pāṇḍyan stone masonry anicut on vaigai from which the main canal (Pēr̤āṟu) took off was still in the process of construction. The quarries from which the stones was supplied to build the ancient was a landmark to serve as a natural boundary for the block of lands granted cultivation was thus being extended right up to the forest edge. The shifting location of grant parcels culminating in the total grant of 24 and odd *vēlis* indicate the progressive attempts to optimise cultivation and enjoyment. The Temple acted as an agent for such agricultural extension. The land-based literate particularly the noteworthy among them had won recognition in their traditional scholastic or ritualistic accomplishments. But some among them were also men of the world. They had been active participants in land-improvement and creation of irrigation-facilities. In a discernibic spirit of altruistic self-interest, they were not apt to lose sight of prospects for adding to material prosperity, individual and or collective.

There were recognised differences in command facilities as between the northern and southern banks of the Vaigai ribbon. The competing claims for irrigation as between the established riparian rights and the needs preferred for extension by the less naturally advantageously located lands has been a reccurring occurrence in Vaigai basin. This case study affords an early 12th century forerunner of this theme. For similar claims

were advanced after opening up of the ayacut under the Tirumaṅgalam cannal taking off from Peraṇai. a few kilometres upstream Vaigai and proceeding southwards in Usilampatti and Tirumaṅgalam Taluks. In the sixties of the current century, the competing claims were between the eastern and the western sides of the canal and also between the upper and the lower reaches of the canal. To a student of irrigation history, this case study could affect an early but distinct precursor of the contemporary experience.

The keen attenction paid to water management, canalisation of river flows for wet cultivation and consiousness of water rights and relative priority of the earlier users are all very striking. The Vaigai too was one of the earliest rivers to be harnessed fully to beneficial irrigation. The Pāṇḍyan rulers were great promoters of the extension of water use and management and their names are perpetuated in the numerous canals and tanks we owe to the period.

This case-study also attested the detailed knowledge of hydrological principles applied to surface irrigation attained in the 11th and 12th centuries in the Pāṇḍyan country.

A third interesting case is dated in the 11th year of Mār. Sundara I (AD 1227) from kaḷḷigudi. The Sabhaiyār of the Brahmadēya, Poṟpādēvi c.m. in Seṅguḍi Nāḍu had lands enjoyed among themselves and the Dēvadāna lands without being divided by metes and bounds. Presumably they pooled the yield and shared it. In that year they resolved on a final division of the lands by metes and bound and bifurcated (Dvikaṭṭinapadiyē) lands under four tanks, Periyakuḷam, Gouṇḍanēri, Villikuḷam alias Tirumāliruñjōlai pērēri and Neṟkuppai Kumāranārāyaṇappērēri. They also agreed to let water from the last big tank through a channel through a branch channel according to a specific location. Similarly the supply to the Gouṇḍanēri shall be from the surplus of Rājasiṅgappērēri for which they could excavate a new channel. The Sabhā accountant recorded the rights to be enjoyed according to the final division of the lands and irrigation supply from the four tanks hitherto held in common.[78]

Two inscriptions from Śāligrāmam regulate the irrigation of lands rendered tax-free to the deity. In the first, the King Śaḍaiyan Māṟan in the 3rd year of the reign ordered the lands of the deity tax-free and that they were to be irrigated by two tanks. Varamoḻiēri and Vāsudēva ēri. He also permitted the irrigation of the said lands by the waters of Kuḷavanēri and that the residents of Neḍurūr (Nērūr) shall not obstruct this.

In the 20th year of Cōḻantalai Koṇḍa Vīra Pāṇḍya, the King from his camp at Tiruppālaiyūr had ordered the Sabhā of Śālaigrāmam to resume Tirukkuḷuṅgalūr and pay 900 *kāśu* as land dues. As the Sabhā was unable to pay it and to get relieved

from the demand, they obtained 100 Īlakkāśu through the taking over of the ornaments and Tiruvaṭṭam[79] or Tiruppaṭṭam and took over the obligation to pay the taxes due from the deity on lands under Varamoḻi ēri. They also endorsed that the deity's lands shall take for 35 Pāḍagam fields water from Kuḻuvāṇai ēri for two crops in a year.[80]

The first was an order of the king and the second the Sabha conforming to that order for the supply of water from an additional source.

Similarly, when a grant of 2 *mā* was made to the Māramaṅgalam deity the royal order conceyed that the fields were to be irrigated by the Big Tank of the Township.[81]

When lands were sold or assigned, the sluice and the tank from which they could take water were also specified to define their irrigation rights[82]. The earlier rights enjoyed to take water from the canal from the anicut constructed across a stream were also continued unimpaired.[83]

In land sales the proportionate share of water and the fishery rentals for the land sold were also transferred to the vendee.[84]

In some cases the vendee was permitted to construct a new canal and embankment with dimension of 10 rod length (by 16 feet rod) and also to take the channel from the surplus course at the Western end in the higher up tank. This permission was accorded by the Ūrārs of Muttaraśankōṭṭai and Kanmiyār Kōṭṭai.[85]

In another sale of land a similar permission to construct a new supply channel with embankment was also allowed by the same Ūrārs together.[86]

These tanks were all located in Kallumaḍai (Aruppukkōṭṭai taluk) a rainfed tract. The Ūrār had taken a positive step to extend irrigation and had permitted excavating a new canal with embankments to feed the tanks from which the lands sold were irrigated. This additional and supplemental irrigation permitted was also an index of the precarious or its inadequacy.

So, too in Śōḻapuram (Srivillipputtur taluk) where in AD 1322 the Mahāsabhā of Taniyāṇai Vīra Pāṇḍya Cm sold lands to the Cōḻapuram deity they agreed that the Sakaranēri tank irrigating the lands shall be eligible to take water from the south and north end of the channel taking off from the river flowing nearby. Apparently the land sold lay on either side of the channel.[87]

Finally, we may note an undated but late inscription at Akkalūr (Tiruvāḍānai Taluk) which prohibited the baling of water from the temple tank. This was a salutary measure to conserve water in the tank for the community and temple use in the water scarce eastern part of Rāmanāthapuram district.[88]

The Tāmbraparaṇi tract was a contrast, in that the river and the canal supply was almost perennial. the river Tambraparaṇi and Chittāṟu which joins it as Śīvalappēri (Kūḍalūr) had permitted a number of channels to be taken and some of them fed tanks as well.

Lands sold in the 28th year Rājarāja I (AD 1013) had channel skirting them on all sides.

To the east, was the Marudamaḍaikāl. To its south was (a channel) taking off from a spring in the river bed to the west was the Peruṅgāl (Big channel) and to its north was the Peruṅgāl which had taken a turn towards the east and also another feeder channel (taking off from the Peruṅgāl) for supplying the tank. The lands were sold by the Nāṭṭār of Muṟappanāḍu.[89]

However another land sold by the same Nāṭṭār had to be irrigated by lifting water from a channel (Taṭṭukkālāl Nīr Iṟaiccu) and a channel was dug by a benefactor.[90]

The lands to the north of the river Tāmbraparaṇi were fed by tanks and there were two such tanks - Pulakuḷam and Kulakkudikuḷam which irrigated lands sold for a lamp service by the Mahāsabhā of Śrīvallabha Cm (Sīvalappēri) about the same time.[91]

In selling lands in a Māṭha the Mahāsabhā of Vīra Sōmidēva Cm (Murappanāḍu) ensured that the pathway proceding north-south was secured for easement rights and similarly another pathway was laid at the head of the field bond continuously for beneficial public use;[92] rights of irrigation were thus consistent with other easement rights continued and preserved.

Vēḷūr was a Nagara called Madurōdayapuram. They sold land for 1 *accu* recovered from a Śivabrāhmaṇa in the 3rd year of Jaṭ. Vīra Pāṇḍya and undertook that the garden would be supplied with water without any shortage by lifting from Tiruppuṟkudai Vēlūr lay on the Western high level bank of Tāmbraparaṇi river. The baling might be from a stand erected on the bund of the river or on a pond.[93]

In Sēignalūr (Seiduṅganallūr) in Muṟappanāḍu then known as Tiruvaraṅga Cm, a Brahmadēya a donor Vīracōḷadēvar had got on usufructary mortgage land to the south of a stream Kulai āṟu. This was converted into a sale and the earlier rights of the Brahmin holders were terminated in a Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān grant. The lands so transferred included the water spread land or commandable lands (Nīrnilam) wet (nañjai) dry the tank and water spread and the canal and the land on which the canal flowed which had been previously feeding the tank.[94]

The Ūrar of Kulaśēkhara Nallūr sold dry lands which had a cash land-levy of 100 paṇam besides wet land commandable by the southern sluice in Kōṭṭūr tank. The

township Śāyamalai was in the uplands of Sankarankoil taluk. Care was taken to stipulate that the proportionate share of the ancillary rights in the Kōṭṭūr tank (viz. fishery rentals etc.) and of the lean periods of supply and scarce supplies when the tank supply was draining off, shall be enjoyed by the fields.[95]

The Mahāsabhā of Śrī Sundara Pāṇḍya Cm sold land as Kuḍinīṅgākkārāṇmai to one Vēnāvuḍaiyār. They deduct the extent sold from their holdings account but added it to the dēvadāna for which the vendee endowed the lands. But they stipulated carefully that the lands shall be irrigable from the canal taking off from the sluice from the big tank of the township - Sundarapāṇḍyappērēri from the 5th and 6th sluice which commanded the land.[96]

In Kuttālam (coutrālam) in the 2nd year of Jaṭ. Vikrama when the Mahāsabhā sold 1/16 *vēli* of land they allowed the vendee-donor to convert a dry land into wet and take water from the tank of the Agaram for irrigating it.[97]

In the cases noticed above water rights were transferred with the lands sold and the customary supplies were ensured. There were instances in which water rights alone without any sale of land were sold for a consideration (Nīrvilai). This could be because either the lands suffered for luck of supply or due to inadequacy of supply. Also in times of scarcity or deficit supply the temple lands could have been afforded a more assured supply than the other occupied lands in public interest or out of a charitable motivation. They could also be attributed to the abandonment of breached tanks and diversion of supply or out of distress. These instances characterstically occur in the predominantly rainfed uplands like Tirukkaḷakkuḍi, Sannavanam, Kunṟakkuḍi (Tiruppattūr taluk) (Rāmnād district) and Dārukāpuram in (Saṅkarankōil taluk).

In AD 1228, the Araiyars of Virayāccilai lamented that their occupied lands under the tank called Amarādiccan had breached and fields were laid waste and bunds been obliterated. Hence they sold the water of that tank to be let into Marudaṅgulam for a consideration of 18 Paḷankāśu to the *Ūrār* of Kumāttākkuḍi. They allowed the vendees to cut open the bund of the tank sold and take water through a channel taking off therefrom which was to run along the northern tail end of another tank Pirānkuḷam so that water could be taken therefrom to Marudaṅguḷam.[98]

A transaction from Sannavanam in the 26th year of Māṟ. Kulaśēkhara (AD 1294) had several interesting features. The *Ūrār* of Kuṟumbāṟṟaṅguḍi sold land and water rights for 20 panam. The land sold had some well-irrigated wet lands and a well. The wet land called Mañjaḷ Śey was prised 10 paṇams. The well and the waste land were priced at 10 paṇam in all 20 paṇams.

The *Ūrār* had to enter into this transaction out of distress as they could not otherwise remit the *Kaḍamai* dues to the king's men. As the land was waste, the vendee could reclaim it to the west of the western bund of the well (Kēṇi). He could also take the well water for any other Dēvadanam lands he wished to irrigate Mañjaḷ śey was one such endowed land already wet. He could also take water for the waste lands newly reclaimed, in taking water, he shall only utilise the proportionate share of water due on these lands and not utilise any excess. When taking water from from the big sluice he shall take the water by the side of the eastern bund of Tattān Śey of Āḷvānpidāran. The *Ūrār* agreed to make available land (for easement) to form a channel. The other land levies including service for maintenance of tanks were not to be demanded.[99]

The sale of water rights alone in the 12th year of Mār. Kulaśēkhara (AD 1280) by the executlives of the solidiery of Malaiyaḍikuṟicci has already been referred to in the previous chapter.[100]

Finally in the year Plavaṅga the *Ūrār* of Tiruccaṇamaḷagiyanallūr sold to the Mudaliyār of Tiruppālaivāśal the surplus, waters. Sāmikuḷam the tank irrigating the vendor's lands, when filling without allowing it to spill or overflow the Ūrar agreed that such water might be taken to Pūṅguḍi tank by cutting open on the eastern bund of the former tank upto a point called Kōyaduturai. This was aptly called sale pf surplus water (Maṟukālvilaippramāṇam).[101]

This was perhaps a late instance but it brought out the water conserving spirit of the *Ūrār* and their anxiety not to spill but make full use of scare water resources for beneficial use of course at a price.

We may notice a few instances of irrigation disputes and how they were settled.

The first is the case of an irrigation dispute which is detailed in a series of inscriptions in Kōil Kuruvitturai on the banks of the river Vaigai to which a reference has already been made.[102]

Lands endowed for the Viṣnu temple of Kōil Kuruvitturai were spread on either bank of the river Vaigai. The northern bit lacked irrigation facilities. The southern area was larger and the slope from Vaigai enabled good command. Already a stone masonry work for a weir across the river was constructed and the stones were supplied from the quarries near the hills to the south. The Parākrama Pāṇḍyan Canal (Pērāṟu) took off from the weir and was irrigating the Dēvadāna lands. The lands under this canal were called Parākrama Pāṇḍyan Katttalai. The lands to the south were exchanged for the bits in the north bank and the lands so exchanged were granted in the 9th year to Śrī Harṣan Nārāyaṇa Bhatta Vājapēyi Sarvakrattukaḷ of Kīranūr. He was

authorised to excavate a new channel by name Śrī Vallabhakāl from the river and to disafforest and bring the lands under cultivation.

Also lands on the northern bank which were scattered and not commandable were exchanged for a contiguous commandable block to the South of the river. This was in the 11th year of Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha.

Five years later the Sabhaiyār of Cōḷāntaka Cm complained to the King that the Sarvakratukkal who got the block of lands to the south on Kārāṇmai had excavated a new canal. That intercepted the drawal by their own channel lower down and interfered with their established riparian rights. They represented this to the King, and with the royal approval the new canal was closed and filled up with earth.

Consequently the lands granted in exchange for the northern block could not be irrigated and cultivated and they were resumed and the *status quo* restored.

This evidence is important. Prier user for irrigation and lower riparian rights were protected. Extension of irrigation was permitted only if it was consistent with the established users' rights.

The second is a case of water dispute between the Urar of Alarvāy alias mānābharaṇanallūr and Adaḷaiyūr in the 12th year of Māṟ. Sundara I (AD 1228).

The manner in which it was resolved is not known as the inscription is incomplete.[103]

Vindanūr was an old grant by Rājēndra Cōḷa I to the temple of Rājēndra Viṇṇagar. (AD 1036)[104] But in the next two centuries it got involved in a boundary dispute. Śeṇḍalaṅgāradāsar who erected the shrine of Kulaśēkhara āḻvār in the temple got the lands released from the boundary dispute in about AD 1221 with the Nagarattār of Avanimārtāṇḍapuram (alias Vindanūr) in Kuṟumaṟai Nāḍu and the Ūrār of Puliyūr in the adjoining Tenvāri Nāḍu and with Śrīvallabha Cm Brahmins. He not only traced the original grant deed but also recovered the detailed boundary record of the reign of the Cōḷa Rājēndra-I, of AD 1021. He got the disputed lands regranted to the new shrine and reclaimed the lands made them fit for cultivation and excavated tanks called Tiruvāykkuḷappērēri to enable wet cultivation.

To this effort the object of which was one charity and merit the Ūrār of Puliyūr the Nagarattār of Vindanūr extended their active co-operation.

In a record of the 5th year of Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (circa A.D. 1221 (?) the urar of Puliyūr alias Nṛpacūḷāmaṇinallūr of Tenvārinādu had granted to the Kulaśēkhara shrine, the following right to take water: If their village big tank fed

by the river (Cittaṟu?) was filled the surplus water let through the surplus outlet below passing through the eastward flowing old channel for filling the Dēvadāna tank Mudukuḍi Nāḍāḷvān Kuḷam of this Nāyanār could be intercepted, but only after that tank was filled and taken through an east-flowing channel that could be excavated to the Tiruvāykkuḷappērēri. They had also agreed that the they would not allow water to go waste opening the (surplus) channel-course.

The residents constituting themselves into the Township-body (ūrāyisainda ūrōm) had singed a document for and on behalf of the Township community :

Puliyūr Kiḻavan (Headman ?)

Pittan Aḷavuḍaiyān alias Śrī Vallabha-mūvēndavēḷān

Śūriyan siṅgan alias Uttama-Pāṇḍya Mūvēndavēḷān

Kōvan śiṅgan alias Daṇaseṭṭi

Udayan Kōvan alias Sundara Pāṇḍya Mūvēndavēḷān

Kulōttuṅga Cōḻa Pallavadaraiyan

Kōvan Mādēvan alias Madavarāyan

Perumāḷ Śēndan alias Jaya Pāṇḍya mūvēndavēḷān

Śiṅgan Gaṇavati alias Vānavan Mūvēndavēḷān

On their dictation the document was drawn up by the *ūrkkaṇakku* (accountant) Nenmaliyudaiyān Udayan Śiṅgan alias Kulaśēkhara Mūvēnda Vēḷān. The names could be suggestive of the composition of the Ūr as a Township organisation.

Sevan years later, in the month of Āni, a similar grant of irrigation rights was made by the Nagarattār of Vindanūr alias Avanimārtāṇḍapuram. They had permitted the excavation of the tank, with the bund of the supply channel dug within the tank water-spread to serve as the bund of the tank as well for the Tiruvāykkuḷappērēri for which the (surplus) of Puliyūr Tank would be let. While excavating the tank, the eastern bund was to be cut and formed into a bund on and along the south-western end of the dry field (Nagarattattianviḷai) in the village. The western bund of the channel was to run on the village limits of Puliyūrār.

The signatories to this grant were those who were authorised to act for Avanimārtāṇḍapuram nagarattār (Nagarattukuccamainda Nagarattōm).[105]

These records show how very much the established irrigation was protected and yet new extensions and utilisation of the surplus flows of water was permitted. Also

no water was to be allowed to go waste. The dispute involving three constituents was resolved in a spirit of amity and concord mainly because it blessed him that gave and him that benefitted out of it.

The evidence adduced above are further amplified by the corroborative testimony of later inscriptions. For one thing there was not much technological change. For another the customary rights and conventions still held the field. The force on that custom was felt fully during the Nāyak times and had lingered even later.

Even in later Pāṇḍya times in Tenkāsi an anicut across a jungle stream was constructed at Siṅgikuḷam.[106]

A verse inscribed at Siṅgikuḷam praises Sundara Pāṇḍya for constructing an anicut and excavating a canal.[107] At the same place in K 772 (AD 1596) one Mālaiyiṭṭān excavated a spring channel from the stream to irrigate some lands which had no sufficient surface supply.[108] In AD 1586 (K 662) while describing the boundaries of the land sold reference is made to a boat-stand from which people were ferried from Aṭṭāḷanallūr to Śāṭṭuppaṭṭu two prosperous villages in the South bank of Tāmbraparaṇi.[109]

In AD 1664 Neyinan Khān son of Saiku Khān Kutti Khan renovated the sluice of the local tank at Munañjupaṭṭi.[110]

In Tiruppattūr, the rainfed tract, the ponds (Ūraṇis) were valued as the principal and perhaps the only drinking water source. In AD 1522, a watershed was erected on the eastern bank of the Ūraṇi at Tiruppattūr.[111] And another at Taḷakkāvur two years' later.[112] Under the Vaigai-fed Nilaiyūr channel which took off from an anicut at Maṇṇadimaṅgalam, it was arranged that the Dēvadāna Kaṭṭaḷai lands shall be eligible to take three turns of irrigation.[113] This record of AD 1644 attests the community interest in providing augmented supplies for the Dēvadāna lands. A late grant in AD 1646 by Tirumalai Nāyakkar permitted the right of feeding from the Nilaiyūr channel in tanks around the hills belonging to Subrahmaṇya deity at Tirupparaṅkunṟam.[114]

The maintenance of irrigation sources continued to be funded from the fishery rentals and the community could commandeer the services of the residents especially in the rainfed tracts like Vāsudēvanallūr.[115]

In AD 1590, the temple authorities of Nānguneri and the Brahmin assembly of Sivaramangalam granted the fishery rights in Cōḷa Pāṇḍyappērēri to certain residents in return for clearing the tank of silt every year.[116] Similar arangements were made Adaiccāṇi a Gatana-fed tank in A.D. 1584.[117] The Nāyak ruler Vīrappa ordered that the fishery rental receipts (Pāśivilai) be invested in deepening the Big Tank of

Tiruvādavūr and in excavating it further.[118]

These instances attest that the practices derived from the medieval evidence were in vogue even right up to the 16th and 17th centuries.

After the British administration was established departmental activities were organised. Government's own authority had grown and the assertion of the legally enforceable individual rights, which were justiciable began to strike roots. That could be dated about the mid-19th century. Correspondingly, the ancient authority of the community which could enforce customary practices, consistently with harmonised innovation, had weakned.

We may now sum up the conclusions that can be drawn from the data presented above for the medieval period.

A SUMMING UP

Land grants and assignments were themselves the instruments for land development, particularly for the formation of tanks, canals and ponds for drinking water or for bathing and for temple ritual purposes. These were undertaken also as part of reclamation efforts to bring back lands waste on account of breaches in the tank, supply canal and the canal system. There is no evidence of the King himself undertaking such works at what we might now term, "State expense". Nor, were any funds earmarked from the King's Treasury for such or maintenance .

The construction of tanks and wells and river channels beside ponds (*Ūraṇis*) as public utilities were products of the community effort - either collectively or by individual benefactors. At best the King acted as a "Catalyst", granted temporarily or permanently the remission of a part of the land dues, *Antarayam* for instance on the request of the affected community waiting on him. The most conspicuous examples of construction or maintenance works undertaken were of individual chieftains or benefactors. Several of them were from the Vēṇādu Kingdom across the Ghats who have, perhaps, held positions of command or authority even in Pāṇḍyan Townships. Such benefactions were gratefully acknowledged and works named after the donors.

Labour should be readily be forthcoming from the benefitted townships. Service for public utilities, their creation or maintenance was a charge on land, specially enjoined on the cultivators and casual labourers.

The maintenance of Channels and channel heads was specially cared for by the Watchment at the head sluices. The soil and channel clearance was a regular yearly obligation on the occupants. Extraordinary repairs beyond the collective capability of

the townships were undertaken by the Chieftains and benefactors contributing their resources also in part. Regular annual maintenance was met by the proceeds of the lease of fishery rentals which was ubiquitous. Where again such maintenance, especially after a long lapse or simultaneously with reclamation required special outlay and efforts remission of the land dues or concessional rates thereof were granted both by the King and the community or by either. Increment remission was another mode availed of. In operating sluices and in flash flows casualities had occured and such persons who acted to protect the public utilities or works and lost their lives were compensated or rewarded by blood-grants for enjoyment by their successors.

The zeal of the community, their vigilance and their contribution were in evidence much more all over the Kingdom. Their sense of participation was at once a recognition of the public utility and consciousness that it is in their interest to maintain them applying labour and rendering prompt service. Local labour instantly applied should also have rendered the system of repairs at once effective and cheap. The knowledge of hydrological techniques, simple though they were quite high and efficacious. These were possessed by the hereditary artisan classes largely and they were of avail to the community which rewarded them with land-grants or other public contribution.

Irrigation rights and regulations were the result of collective deliberation and action of the community. It ensured extension of irrigation consistently with conservation of rights of prior users. The system of canals and tanks filled up in succession ensured an inherent equity and order in the terms of supply. The custom ensured it. The community vigil was a safeguard against its abuse. Consistently with such customary rights, the king as well as the community through their collective accredited organisations the *Mahāsabhā*, the *Ūrār* and the Nagaram could create new rights and authorise extension of irrigation.

The maintenance of irrigation sources was clearly the obligation of the community. Every occupation of cultivator under him had the obligation to contribute labours. In addition the yield from lands specifically endowed for maintenance and the fishery rentals were the mainstay for repairs and clearance of silt and deepening of tanks. Works which were beyond the capability and the resources of the Community were supplemented by royal grants of a portion of the cash dues from the ayacut to the King. By the same token there were no public outlays from the State for such maintenance. It was acknowledged a collective effort and a community obligation.

The operators of the sluices, the watchmen of the anicuts weirs and bunds and tanks and other such services were endowed *jivitam* lands. The sluice-opening some times involved diving into deep storages and some-times lives were lost. Such cases were recompensed by the Community granting subsistance grants or blood money to the next of king.

Irrigation rights were a part of the sale of land where wet lands were sold. The accustomed supply and the proportionate share were transferred with the land. In exceptional cases additional water and special concessions in the share of the water during times of scarcity and the fag end of the irrigation season (when the tank had been practically emptied and not refilled, were permitted by the community especially for the temple lands. Supplemental irrigation and conjunctive use of tank and wells in rainfed areas were in vogue. Wells were valued and had a high price. Lifting or taking of water when direct flow was not feasible was permitted and a concessional levy of land demand was charged - half or often her even one fourth[119] of the rate for surface supply - to compensate the additional labour and the constricted supply, which might diminish yield.

Irrigation disputes between different townships between individuals and the community were noticed. Such disputes were either resolved by the consensus of the Community and their collective composition or by the King's intervention. The principle of protecting lower riparian rights was assiduously applied.

There was system enforceable by custom. It had been enduring. The community and different sections thereof had exercised collective vigil and authority to enforce what was established consistenly with progressive and positive improvements, extensions and developments that were feasible. To conclude Community safeguarded the old practices and regulations but were willing to undertake new works and extensions consistently with those practices and custom.

FOOT NOTES :

1. On the "Nīrnāḷigai" please also see my "Pudukkōṭṭai Studies" (pp. 156 to 159). the more scarce the water resources the more rigorous was the system.
2. On the distress in the Cōḷa townships please see my "Land grants and agrarian reactions."
3. Please see below the Chapter on "Land levies and dues" (Chapter VIII) the Vāḍākkaḍan rates.
4. For the detailed history of this temple, please see my "Rājēndra Viṇṇagar"
5. SII XIV 144; EI XI pp. 295-297 "Āṟṟupāccal" rendered as "six wettings" in "Rājēndra Viṇṇagar" should be revised as "river-fed".
6. SII XIV 145.
7. This practice was universal in the Rāmanāthapuram Zamindari and even in some Vaigai-fed tanks in the Sivagaṅga Zamindari within living memory. The author could testify to even temporary water-spread paṭṭas (Nīr Kōrvai or Kuḷamkōrvai nīrppiḍi paṭṭa" issued by the Estate Collectors of Rāmanāthapuram which had detailed conditions set out, sometimes, to safeguard the optimal filling of tanks and their storage. He recollects a specific instance of a paṭṭa granted by the Estate Collector of Sivagaṅga to one Vairavan ambalam of Pāppānkuḷam, the higher up Inām village in Survey No. [illegible] of Tiruppūvaṇam Tank Waterspread inspected in the settlement of the Sivagaṅgai Zamindari estate

8. 411 / 1906, 413 / 1906 - Śīvalappēri - Rājarāja I (AD 1013) 119/1905 - Tiruvāldśvaram - Jaṭ. Sundara-Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya (18) (AD 1035) SII XXIII/422 : Vīra Pāṇḍi (Periyakuḷam taluk) Sundara Pāṇḍya (11+3) 393 / 1917, SII XIV / 267 - Ref. to Śrīvallavan pēraṇaikōil - Kīḻappāvūr-
Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha

618 / 1917 - Ūrmēlaḻagiyān - Ś 1421 : Two weirs referred to :

496-A / 1909 SII XXVI / 524	Cōḷapuram (Srivilliputtūr)	DATE N.A.	A Weir across the stream and a number of anicuts.

9. 324 / 1923 - Tirukkōṣṭiyūr / Māṟ. Kulaśēkhara - I (29)
540 / 1922 - 556/1922 Tiruttaṅgāl - Māṟ. Sundara II (4+1) -
Māṟ. Kulaśēkhara - (6)

10. 6 & 7/1927
11. 1984-85 / No. N.A.
12. 342 / 1949-50
13. 502 / 1909 SII XXVI / 530
14. 225 / 64-65
15. 145 / 56-57
16. 559, 560, 561, 563 / 1922
17. 396, 397/1914
18. SII / XXIII / 117 - Kallidaikkuṟicci
19. 319 / 1916 - Kallidaikkuṟicci
20. SII XIV / 241 - Vijayanārāyaṇam
21. SII V / 294 - Tenkarai
22. For eg. 191 / 1980-81 - Uñjanai
23. SII VIII / 417 - Tiruccunai
24. Pl. see my "Land grants and agrarian reactions" pp. 33-34
25. SII III / p. 240
26. See Supra p . . . . for its history.
27. TAS I/p. 249
28. SII V / 436
29. SII XXVI / 468
30. 340 / 1930 - Kuṇḍalakkūttu (Sāttūr tk.)
31. Please see my "Collected Papers" pp 1 to 11
32. 345 / 1929 - 30 - SII XIV/203
33. For the detailed history of the case please see my "Collected Papers" (pp 110 to 125)
34. SII VII / 416

35. Ibid / 417
36. 350 / 1965-66
37. 351 / 1965-66
38. 107 / 1916
39. 103 / 1916
40. 198 / 1980-81 - Uñjanai - Vira Pāṇḍya (14th century)
40-A 84 / 1924 Pericceikōil
41. 510 / 1962-63
42. 42 / 1926
43. 1 / 1926
44. 7 / 1926
45. SII V / 416
46. SII XXIII / 90 Pl. see ibid p. 53 for data
47. SII XXIII / 91
48. Confer SII XIV / 241 - Vijayanārāyaṇam
49. SII XIV / 231
50. Ibid - 226. The inscriptions is dated in the regnal years of Kulōttuṅga I but the inscription above of the very next year is dated in the reign of the Pāṇḍya Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha.
51. 252 / 1928
52. 522 / 1911
53. 587 / 1915 - Dārukāpuram
54. SII XIV / 482
55. 634 / 1916 - Śermādēvi
56. 646 / 1916 - Śermādēvi - Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara - Yr. 11
648 / 1916 - Śermādēvi - Māṟ. Vikrama - 7+1
57. 482 / 1916 - Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara - 4
58. 430 / 1906
59. 429 / 1906
60. 201 / 1935-36 Once, the text of the inscription becomes available, this statement can bear a recheck.
61. 323 / 1915 - Kāduveṭṭi (Tenkāsi Tk.)
62. 45 / 1927 - Tirunelvēli - Māṟ. Vikrama
63. 58 / 1929 - Śivapuri
64. 62 / 1929 - Śivapuri
65. 38 / 1946-47 - Śākkōṭṭai - Māṟ. Śrīvallabha (4)

66. 543 / 1926 My interpretation of the text differs from the gist in ARE 1926
67. 545 / 1926 - Srivilliputtūr
68. SII VIII / 169
69. Please see my Chapter on "Irrigation" in my "Pudukkōṭṭai Studies"
70. 79 / 1929 In a late assignment of a similar nature the fishery rentals were earmarked for the annual excavation and silt-clearance of the tank at Kunnattūr from year to year - 277/1964-65
71. 283 / 1963-64
72. 149 / 1908
73. 301 / 1955-56 - Paḷani
74. 315/1928 - Vellaiyāmpaṭṭi (Nilakkōṭṭai tk.)
75. SII XIV / 78
76. ARE 318 to 329 / 1908
77. Please see pp. 110-125 of my "Collected papers"
78. 262 / 1963-64
79. E.I. XXVII pp. 92-93 "Tiruappam" appears to be a mis-reading, perhaps Tiruvaṭṭām or Tiruppaṭṭam fits in with the context.
80. Ibid - inscription "B" at p. 93
81. SII XXVI - 507 - Māṟanēri.
82. 30 and 31 / 1936 - Sannavanam (Tiruppattūr tk.)
83. 544 / 1926 Srivilliputtūr
84. 288 / 1977-78 - Kallumaḍai - Māṟ. Kulaśēkhara I - Year 37 (AD 1305)
85. 287 / 1977-78 - Māṟ. Kulaśēkhara I - Year 17 (AD 1285)
86. 289 / 1977-78
87. SII XXVI-515
88. 595 / 1926
89. 411 /1 906 - Śīvalappēri of also 412/1906 for similar lands surrounded by channels - Rājarāja I 28 (AD 1013).
90. 413 / 1906
91. 422 / 1906
92. 435 / 1906 - Murappanāḍu AD 1266. Please see for its history my "Collected papers" pp. 146 ff.
93. 384 / 1959-60 Vēḷūr (Kasba) as it is now known is across the Tāmbraparaṇi on the western bank opposite Srivaikuṇṭam town.
94. 359 / 1959-60. Seydungaṅgallūr - Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān - 14. There seems to be a distinction between "Nīrnilam" and "Nañjay" but the Tamil Lexicon (Vol. IV p. 2304) equates the two. Perhaps, the former signified commandable land but not yet transformed into wet and latter actually under wet cultivation.

95. 596 / 1915 - For a similar stipulation of the specific share of water for lands sold by the soldiery at Tenmalai please see 610/1915 (Mār. Sundara I).

96. 613 / 1915.

97. 434 / 1917.

98. 90/1916 Tirukkaḷakkuḍi.

99. 23 / 1916.

100. Please see supra p . . . . 586/1915 Dārukāpuram.

101. 29 / 1909 - SII XXVI - 29.

102. For a detailed history of the case. Please see my "Collected papers" pp. 110 f.

103. 235 / 1923.

104. ARE 112 / 1905.

105. Please see "Rajēndra Viṇṇagar" pp. 24-25.

106. 3 / 1912 Jat. Parākrama.

107. 266 / 1941.

108. 267 / 1941.

109. 414 / 1916 Tiruppuḍaimarudūr.

110. 511 / 1944-45.

111. 177 / 1936.

112. 217 / 1980-81.

113. 313/ - (The card index is misplaced).

114. 314 / 1928.

115. 352 / 1040-50.

116. 262 / 1928 - Nānguṇēri.

117. 556 / 1911.

118. SII VIII - 424.

119. For eg. 500 / 1909 - SII XXVI 528 Cōḷapuram (Śrīvilliputtūr)
130 / 1908 - Tiruppattūr.
385 to 387 / 1961 - Viḷuppanūr.
399 / 2907 - Koḍumalūr.

CHAPTER - VIII

LAND DUES AND LEVIES IN PĀṆḌYAN TOWNSHIP

Land levies can be classified under two main heads :

(1) Land dues to the king.

(2) Land dues payable to an assignee.

Under the category, the transferred assessments payable to the beneficiaries, the Brahmadēyās and the Dēvadānas are a species. The *Jīvitam* holder, in his turn could assign his dues to a beneficiary.

In addition, land-dues to the *Ūrār* and the *Nāṭṭār* either in cash or in the form of services or occasional demends *(tēvai)* or distributed *(viniyōgam)* were the obligations cast on the occupants, or the cultivating tenants. The latter bore the services obligations, invariably.

the principal land levy payable to the King was the *Kaḍamai.* It could also be assigned to the beneficiaries like the temple, or the Brahmadēya or to a *jivitam* holder. In addition there were "*sillirai*" supplemental levies like the Anatarāyam payable in cash.

Several modes of land levies were noticed :

(i) Variśai - a graded levy based on the crops grown and yielding.

(ii) Nilai iṟai or Vāḍākkaḍan - an immutable or permanent assessment.

(iii) Oṭṭu iṟai - a lease-amount or rental. In the last 2 categories some times a moderating factor for failure of crops is stipulated; in others it is not.

In the nature of the available evidence we are not able to get at the King's levies in all the townships. They are available from specific cases of Veḷḷānvagai tenure or lands converted to Veḷḷānvagai tenure and made over to a beneficiary. The bulk of the evidence rulers to the assigned revenues or *Kaḍamai* made over to beneficiaries. The several modes indicated in the preceding paragraph also applied to such cases. It is land to distinguish between the land assessment and a rental in these cases of assigned land-dues. The quantum payable in these cases also vary; it has to tbe surmised that the variation is relatable to the content of the grant-rights and enjoyment.

The analysis of the land-dues has to reckon with several factors-lands reclaimed bore a concessional rate or in some cases they were granted incremental remission. Secondly the rate of levy depended on the tenure of the land and the quantum of assignment to a beneficiary. Thirdly, when assigned lands were granted on a service tenure a concessional rate was applied in consideration of the performance of service. These are of course individual peculiarities. But from the rates of assessment in a tract a pattern can be discerned. For this purpose the available evidence is compiled and presented in the tables appended.

In the first instance, the few available conversions of Brahmadēya into Veḷḷānvagai in the reign of Jaṭ. Sundara Cōḷa Pāṇḍya can be noticed. These are the varied rates applicable to different categories of occupied or occupiable lands payable to the King but assigned to the temple at Rājēndra Viṇṇagar or Tiruvālīśvaramuḍaiyār temple both in Rājarāja Cm and or to the Kailāsamuḍaiyār temple at Śērmādēvi Nigarili Cōḷa Cm. Typical instances are extracted in Table 1.

The average assessment per *vēli* in riverine tracts has varied from 102 and odd *kalams* to 141 and odd *kalams*. The immutable levy or permanent assessment is far higher than the assessment on other Veḷḷānvagai lands perhaps because these lands are subject to periodical revision which may be upwards. The Kallūr lands assessed at 104 and odd *kalams* were relinquished. But it did not deter the addition of 5 vēlis boarding a higher permanent assessment of 141 odd *kalams*. Cash levies were in addition; it was the highest in Kallūr and less in other locations like Tiruvālīśvaram (Kākkaḷūr) and Kaḍaiyam forming part of Rājarāja Cm.

The rates per vēli in the Gaṭana-Tāmbraparaṇi basis is marginally higher than in the Cauvery delta in the time of Rājarāja I which was 100 *kalams* per vēli.[1] The immutable levies are exceptions.

Lands were classified, then as now, as wet and dry, single crop and double crop.. They were aslo graded according to the assessment of land dues they bore. Lands granted to beneficiaries are also denoted by the "variśai" or the grading of assessment or even the rate they bore. For instance lands in Pāppānkuḷam' (Vēḷār-Kuṛicci, (the north-western hamlet of Rājarāja Cm) granted in AD 1238-39 were described as below:

(1) I Class lands (Talaivariśai)

(2) Lands Assessed at half

(3) Lands assessed at half for *Kār* and ¼ for *pasānam*

(4) Lands assessed at 8 *kalam*, 3 *kuṟuṇi* 2 *mā*

(5) Lands assessed at 3 *kalam*, 3 *kuṟuṇi*, 3 *nāḻi*

In the same ayacut, lands of different grades of assessment were located.

An inscription from Māṟamaṅgalam[3] specifies the Taram and the rate of land levy :

1st Taram : 10 *kalam*, 5 *kuṟuṇī*, *kāśu* 8 *mā mukkāṇi*

4th Taram : 4 *kalam*, 1 *tūṇi*, 4 *nāḻi*, *uri - kāśu* 3 163 / 320 If we could put the evidence in the above two cases together, the lands assessed at 8 *kalam*, 3 *kuṟuṇi*, 2 *mā* should fall below the 1 Taram, perhaps as Taram 2, That assessed at 3 *kalam*, 3 *kuṟuṇi*, 3 *vēli* should be below the 4th Taram, perhaps as Taram 5. A Gaṅgaikoṇḍān inscription also classified lands at 10 *kalam*, and 8 *kalam* Variśai respectively[4].

A later inscription of the 13th year of Rājarāja Sundara Pāṇḍya from Uñjanai gives the following rates of Kaḍamai for the Dēvadāna lands measured according to the measure in vogue in the *Jivitam* of Maravacakravarti[5].

1st Taram - Per *mā* 8 *kalams*

2nd Taram - Per *mā* 4 *kalams*

3rd Taram - Per *mā* 3 *kalams*

The land assessment varied from tract to tract. In the wilds of Kāḷaiyārkōil it was at 1 *kalam* 1 *kuṟuṇi* per *mā* and *antarāyam* 3 *paṇam*[6]. In the reign of Jaṭ. Sundara. But there were also some lands assessed at 7 *kalam* 1 *kuṟuṇi* per *mā* and some bore cash assessment of 18 *paṇams* in the 14th year of Māṟ. Vikrama[7]. Similar wide variations are noticed all over in the tract where individual fields are grated according to assessment with the overburden of tenurial characteristics, such variation are to be expected, especially when it is hard to distinguish between land-revenue component and the rental if any, paid for the mēlvāram interest.

A general pattern is, however clearly discernable. The indence of land levies in the wet was higher than on the dry lands, Barring exceptions, the levy was in kind in the case of wet lands but it had also a cash component as antarāyam. Dry lands bore only a cash assessment though sometimes the levy was taken in grain grown. Black soils were charged higher than other dry lands some times (Table II),

The *Piśānam* crop, bore the highest rate of levy in kind. It was the main crop. Kōḍai or Kuṛuvai crop bore ½ the rate for *Piśānam*[8], and sometimes ¾[9]. The kuṛuvai crop was distinguished as when grown in the month of citrai āḍi or aṛpasi or Māśi. Sometimes *inter se* rates[10] were also varied according to the time of cropping. This indeed would be an index of available moisture and water use. Irrigated dry crops like varagu, tinai (horsegram) and gingely were charged at ¼. Lands irrigated by baling and brought to yield were charged ½ or oftener ¼ the rate for the main crop. There are several variations which are brought out in the Table IV appended to this Chapter. The collections of land-demand was synchronised with the period of yield, Citrai for *Piśānam*, Āḍi or Aṛpasi for the *kuṛuvai*. It the rates of levy are indicated of the relative valur of crops prevailing at the time the following gradation can be arrived at :

1. Main Paddy crop, sugarcane, betel, banana
2. Summer paddy ½ or ¾ (kuṛuvai)
3. Paddy by bating ¼ or ¼
4. Gingelly
5. Varagu (Tinai - horsegram)
6. Cotton ; castor
7. Irungu grass (¼)
8. Vegetables : Brinjal Pumpkin (1/8)

Lands sold or inducted into were frequently for reclamation. They were lying waste, as a shrub jungle or without irrigation as the tanks had breached. In such cases an increment remission was granted. The full rate of levy for the main crop was reached in a period of 3, 4 or 5 years as the case may be. The following are illustrations of the increment remission (Table III)

STATEMENT OF LAND DUES PAYABLE ON VEḶḶĀNVAGAI LANDS (Table 1)

Name of the place of inscription.	*Ruler & Date.*	*Land location.*	*Rate of levy paddy in cash per vēli.*	*Rate of levy paddy in cash per mā.*	*Remarks.*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Ref.					
1. Tiruvālīśvaram 116 of 1905	Rājarāja I 11-AD 996	. . . .	. . . .	30 Kalams per mā.	Vādākkaḍan (perhaps for 2 crops)
2. Mannārkōil SII XIV 145	Jaṭ. Sundara Cōḷa Pāṇḍya 13th Yr. AD 1030-31.	In Rājarāja Cm. Double crop riverfed	K T P 102-2-4-7 Kāni. Araikkāni Kīḻ 8 mā	5 Kalams & odd.	The taxes on Dēvadāna lands in cash like Aḻakerudu Kāśu Kātccierudu, Ūr Kaḻañju not to be collected
		Maḻukkāḍu	K T P 108-0-1 38 Kāśu		(ii) The Maḻukkāḍu lands bore a slightly higher rate of levy.
3. Mannārkōil Ibid - 154	Jaṭ. Sundara Cōḷa Pāṇḍya 16th (AD 1033)	10 Vēli Mānābharaṇa Cm.	260 Kalams per Vēli	13 Kalams	Vādākkaḍan
4. Śērmādēvi Ibid - 157	Jaṭ. Sundara Cōḷa Pāṇḍya 17th Yr. (AD 1034)	2 Vēli in Kallūr in Melavēmbu Nāḍu	KTPKN 104-2-0-1-2 Cash 8 - 3 Mā per Vēli	5 Kalam & odd	Found excessive; relinquished in AD 1036 (Ibid 164).

Name of the place of inscription.	*Ruler & Date.*	*Land location.*	*Rate of levy paddy in cash per vēli.*	*Rate of levy paddy in cash per mā.*	*Remarks.*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
5. Tiruvālīśvaram SII XIII, 160 - 161	AD 1034	5 Vēli in Kākkaḷūr	KTPKN Naḷi Uri Sevidu 125-1-0-2-0-1 7 & odd kāsu	Over 6 Kalams	Kātccierudu 5 Kāśu (1 Kāśu per vēli)
6. Mannārkōil 112 of 1905	Rājēndra - I AD 1037	Vindanūr in Kuṟumaṟaināḍu		per Mā 2.125 kalams 0.275 kāśu.	Low rainfed uplands
7. Sermadevi SII XIV/194	Jat. Cōḷa Pāṇḍya 3rd year	4 vēḷi in Kallūr	KTPKN 141-2-0-1-5	$5^{1}/_{16}$ Kāni 7 Kalams per mā	Higher than item 4 Levies like Ūr kaḷañju also assigned to the deity
8. Amba-samudram SII XIV/245	Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha 20 (AD 1100)	Nīrnilam in Rājarāja Cm.	20¾ Māḍai	1¾ Māḍai	As Tarappottagam (Puravu nila ōpādi as per surrounding lands
9. Amba-samudram SII XIV/146	....	....	....	....	....
10. Tiruvālīśvaram 348/1916	Māṟ.Sundara-I 5th year - 1221	Land in Rājarāja erivīrapaṭṭinam	200 Kalams	per Mā 5 Kalam pasānam 5 Kalam 10 Kalams Dry 1 Dramam Gingelly in wet land ¼ Kaḍamai Garden crop ½	For lands yielding on inspection

Name of the place of inscription.	*Ruler & Date.*	*Land location.*	*Rate of levy paddy in cash per vēli.*	*Rate of levy paddy in cash per mā.*	*Remarks.*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
11. Tiruvālīśvaram 369/1916	Jaṭ. Vīra (Kōnerinmai-koṇḍān) 6th year	Pilāvilai in Rājarajā Cm. 9½ mā	300 Kalams 300 Kalams 600 Kalams	Pisānam Cash 15 paṇam 30 Kalams per Mā Per Kār. 15 paṇam for each crop 30 paṇam plus 1½ paṇam	Appears excessive Land reclaimed to the south of Tāmbraparaṇi river

K	T	P	K	N	S
Kōṭṭai	Tūṇi	Padakku	Kuruṇi	Nāḷi	Seviḍu

TABLE - II

Rates in vogue for Karuñjey (black soil) Rāmanāthapuram and other dry lands.

Muvaraivenṛān 37/46-47	Paṇḍya Kulaśēkhara 3+5	Per mā Karumedu Śey Both ½ Dramam	Dry
Tirumālugandān Kōṭṭai	Māṛ. Sundara II	Both ½ mā accu	Dry
38 & 39 1931-32	AD 1244		
Viḷuppanūr (SVP Tk) 382-384 1961-62	Māṛ. Sundara II 1242-43	¼ Dramam	½ Dramam
Viḷuppanūr (SVP Tk) 395-86 1961-62	Kōnerinmai	¼ Dramam	½ Dramam
Viḷuppanūr (SVP Tk) 387/1961-62		Both - 1 Dramam	1 Dramam
Kovilāñjēri 355/1961-62	Māṛ. Sundara II AD 1250	Drama ¼	Dry ½ near (Nattam) near habitat Dry $^{1}/_{8}$ Dramam
Tirumāṇikkam 358/61-62	Kulaśēkhara 13+	3 dramam 1½ kalam	1 dramam (½ kalam) (if yielding) Dry 2 dramam (on crop raised)

Tirunelvēli - Non noticed.

TABLE - III

RATES OF INCREMENT REMISSION

Tirunelvēli district

Kuṟṟālam[1] AD 1256 : Lands in Sundarapāṇḍyapuram

	cash	paddy
Ist year after reclamation - Per mā	1/20 kāśu	1 kalam
2nd year after reclamation	1/10 kāśu	2 kalam
3rd year after reclamation	3/20 kāśu	3 kalam
4th permanent assessment	1/5 kāśu	4 kalam

(on inspection on yielding landparcels)

Madurai district

Āṉaiyūr[2] - cash levy per mā (14th century)

Ist year : 30 paṇam

2nd year 45 paṇam

3rd year 60 paṇam (full)

Muḍittalai[3]

I year 4 kalams per mā

II year 6 kalams per mā

III year 8 kalams

IV year 10 kalams

V year 12 kalams

VI 15 kalams - Permanent assessment

Āṉaiyūr[4] (13th century)

I year ½

II year ¾

III year full rate

(Ramanathapuram dt.)

Abhirāmipuram[5]

Old waste to be reclaimed

1st year ½

2nd year ⅛

3rd year ½

4th year ¾

5th year. Full rate @ 10 kalams per mā.

Tirukkaḷakkuḍi[6] (Māṟ. Sundara)

Old waste to be reclaimed

1st year ¼

2nd year ½

3rd year ¾

4th year ($4\frac{3}{16}$ kalams)

Tirukkaḷakkuḍi[7] (Jaṭ. Sundara II)

First year $\frac{1}{10}$

II $\frac{1}{9}$

III $\frac{1}{8}$

IV $\frac{1}{7}$

Full thereafter (Nilavaḍi)

The genera scheme of land levies and assessment, as evidenced by the inscriptions has been framed and set above. The appendix to this Chapter describes the modes of measurement and assessment in vogue in the Pāṇḍyan Townships.

Table IV appended sets out rates of assessment in vogue at various locations. The table also shows the individual rates for the different crops and varieties of trees or other grains grown. Table V gives the linear measurement rod adopted, and the grain measure adopted at the different locations and times. They are illustrative.

FOOT NOTES

1 .Pl. see SII Vol. II pt. I No. 4.

2. S.I.I XXIII / 124, 124A

3. S.I.I VIII / 454

4. S.I.I V / 734

5. 196 / 1981-82

6. S.I.I VIII / 173, 174, 177, 178

7. S.I.I VIII / 170

8. S.I.I VIII / 170

9. 34, 35 / 1931-32

10. 166 / 1936

APPENDIX - III

FOOT NOTES

1. 432 / 1917

2. 342 / 1961-62

3. SII IV / 370, 371

4. Smae as 342 / 1961-62

5. Not numbered / 1990-91

6. 103 / 1916
   85 / 1916

7. 66 / 1916

TABLE IV

RATES OF LAND LEVIES IN THE PĀNDYAN TOWNSHIPS

Arranged according to location and in the same location as far as ascertainable, chronologically

Name of village Reference.	*Ruler's name date.*	*Rates for wet lands (Per ma)* Pisanam	Kuruvai	Baling	*Dry crops to be specified.*	*Remarks*
(1)	(2)	(3)			(4)	(5)
Dārukāpuram 569/1915 588/1915	Kōnērinmai Kondān	in Paddy Kalams 7 7	cash N.A. N.A.	½ ½ ¼	Gingelly 1 Dramam Horsegram(16)mēni) other dry ½ dramam	Waste and uniielded lands to be excluded lands in Malaiyadikkuricci
Kurrālam	Jat. Vīra	4 Kalams		4	Dry 1/10 accu	Viniyōgam 1/20 accu newly reclaimed in Sundarapāndyapuram (Kurumarai Nādu)
426/1917	Mār. Vikrama 5	4	4 Mā 1/5 Kāśu			
415/1917	Mār. Kulaśēkhara	25 Kalams		¼	¼ accu	Another ¼ mentioned classification for which is not available Lands in Śengulam
412/1917	Mār. Kulaśēkhara	100 Panam				Vādākkadamai lands in Pulivūr

Name of village Reference.	Ruler's name date.	Rates for wet lands (Per ma) Pisanam	Kuruvai	Baling	Dry crops to be specified.	Remarks.
(1)	(2)	(3)			(4)	(5)
Kīḻakkaliṅgal 324/1916	Māṟ. Sundara	-	Aṟpasi ½ Kuṟuvai ¼			
Kīḻappāvūr 394/1917	Māṟ. Sundara I AD 1238	3 Kalam 6 Kāsu		½		
Veḷḷaṅguḷi 449/1916	Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara - 6 (AD 1196)	18 kalam Padakku 4 Dramam Antarāyam				Lands in Rājarāja Cm rates fixed by Mahāsabhā
Pappāṅguḷam SII XXIII 124, 124-A	Māṟ. Sundara I 23 (AD 1238-39)	Kalam Kuṟuṇi 8 3 3 3				Vēḷākkuricci lands Lands granted according to assessment
Śērmādēvi 614/1916	Rājēndra-I 6 (AD 1018)	5			2 akkam	Lands in Dēvar Kuḷam
Tirunelvēli SII V/436	Cōḻa Kulōttunga I Yr. N.A.	4 Kalam 4 Kāśū	per crop	4 Kalam 4 Kāśū	—	Waste land reclaimed in Kunnattūr, Muḷḷippaḷḷam
Tirunelvēli SII V/415	Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara 26 (AD 1116)	10		10 Kalam	—	Service Tenure in Srivallavapuram payable in *Kār*

Name of village Reference.	*Ruler's name date.*	*Rates for wet lands (Per ma)* Pisanam	Kuruvai	Baling	*Dry crops to be specified.*	*Remarks.*
(1)	(2)	(3)			(4)	(5)
Tirunelvēli SII V/450	Kulaśēkhara 13 + 9	3 accu 3 accu 6 accu			1 Dramam (16 meni) for Gingelly Horsegram	Deity's grant in vēṇuvana nāyaka nallūr Earlier levy 3 doubled, charging an induction fee of 3 accu.
Tirunelvēli SII V/446	Mār. Sundara II 1246-47	3 Kalam	—	½		Lands in Ravivarma Cm, a Brahmadēya. Antarāya ¼ Kāśu mā
Tirunelvēli SII V/438	Mār. Sundara II 1251-52	30 Kalams Kalams		30		Collective levy by the Township payable in cash at market by Suttamalli a Brahmadēya
Tirunelvēli SII V/437	Mār. Sundara II 1251	15 Kalams	15 Kalams			Colloective levy by the Brahmadēya Kōḍānūr Delivery; Citrai for Pisānam and Aṛpasi for Kār
Tirunelvēli 64/1927	Sundara 8	10 Kalams for 2 crops (5 Kāl)	(5 Kāl)			Adhyayana Jīvitam

Name of village Reference.	*Ruler's name date.*	*Rates for wet lands (Per ma) Pisanam Kuruvai Baling*	*Dry crops to be specified.*	*Remarks.*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Tirunelvēli 61/1927	Sundara	60 Kalams		Deity's grant - a lease(?)
Tirunelvēli 44/1927	Kōnērinmai-koṇḍān	4 kalams ½ ¼ Kāśu	Tinai, Varagu 1½ Dramam (16 mēni)	Land in Vīravinōda Cm. (Kallaga Nāḍu)
Tirunelvēli 77 & 78 1927	Kulaśēkhara	10 Kalams		Brahmadēya-Bhattās to pay 100 Kalams as Vādākkaḍan (viḷḷai-white rice Pisānam)
Māṟamaṅgalam SII VIII/454	Kōnērinmai koṇḍān	Taram 1 : 10 Kalams5 Kuruṇi Kāsu 8 Mā Mukkāni Taram 4 : 4 Kalam 1 Tūṇi, 4 Nāḷi 1 Uri & 3 163/320 (mā) Kāśu		
Vijayanārāyaṇam 14/1927	Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara 3 (AD 1193)	Antarāyam 2 accu per Mā		
Nanguneri 239/1928	Jaṭ. Sundara 8 + 1	1 Tūṇi-Padakku 1		Voluntary levy by Mahāsabhā

Name of village Reference.	Ruler's name date.	Rates for wet lands (Per ma) Pisanam	Kuruvai	Baling	Dry crops to be specified.	Remarks.
(1)	(2)	(3)			(4)	(5)
Singikuḷam 263/1941	Kōnērinmai-koṇḍān	15 kalam Tiḍiyūr Madaiparṟu Karuṅguḷam Naḍuviṟkuḷam Māḷuva- cakravarti Kārāṇmai	7½ Kalam 20 Kāl- 15 120 60	 10 Kalam 7½		For other lands, the Tanattār to inspect and charge rates as per rates in the surrounding lands proportionately for the lands yielded on measurement. (kist bandi) Pisanam: Citrai Kār-Aṟpasi
Srīvaikuṇṭam SII V/737	Vīra Pāṇḍya 15	10 Kalams				
Āttūr 429-30/1930	N.A.	1½ Kāl. Accu 81/160		 ¾	Dry ½ Dramam	Land in Varandivayal in Kuḍanāḍu
Kuṟumbūr 274/1941	Mār. Sundara I AD 1220	3 Kalam				
Gaṅgaikoṇḍān SII V/734	Māṟ. sundara II 6	10 Kalams (2 crops) 8 Kalams (2 crops)				

Name of village Reference.	*Ruler's name date.*	*Rates for wet lands (Per ma)* *Pisanam*	*Kuruvai*	*Baling*	*Dry crops to be specified.*	*Remarks.*
(1)	(2)	(3)			(4)	(5)
Manarpadaivīḍu SII XXVI/473	K. 642 AD 1467	$1^1/_{16}$ Kōṭṭai or $2^1/_8$ Kalams				
Suttamalli SII XXVI/487	16th Century	6 Kalams				
Kokkiḷāncēri 355/1961-62	Māṛ. Sundara II AD 1220	3 Kāl.	½	—	Horse gram, Pul, iruṅgu 1 Dramam Kuṛuñjey ¼ Puñjai (Dry) nattam ½ Dramam Dry (others $^3/_8$)	
Paḷḷiccandai 741/1919	Māṛ. Kulasekhara 1289-90				Tinai 2 Kalam Grass Iruṅgu 1 kalam	If not yielding varisai on actual yield.
Tirumāṇikkam 358/1961-62	Kulasekhara N.A.	8	½	—	Dry 2 Dramam Kuṛuñjey 3 Dramam & 1½ Kalam gram in Horsegram 1 Dramam Coconut ½ Dramam Dry for yielding lands 1½ kalam & 1 Dramam	

Name of village Reference.	*Ruler's name date.*	*Rates for wet lands (Per ma)* Pisanam	Kuruvai	Baling	*Dry crops to be specified.*	*Remarks.*
(1)	(2)	(3)			(4)	(5)
Madurai SII III/240	Cōḷa Parāntaka I	7½	—			Vādākkaḍan
Madurai SII IV/369	N.A.	2½ accu	—			
Madurai SII IV/373	Kōnērinmai-koṇḍān					50 pon Vādākkaḍan
Madurai 271/41-42	Sundara Pāṇḍya					4 accu for reclamation
Madurai SII IV/369	Sundara Pāṇḍya					2½ accu Vādākkaḍan per year
Alagarkōil 290/1930	Kōnērinmai-koṇḍān					Vādākkaḍan 10 Rāsipon 20 per crop year
Alagarkōil 290/1930	Kōnērinmai-koṇḍān Vikrama	3 Kalam				Vādākkaḍan 30(5) paṇam Land in Vēmbu Nadu
Alagarkōil 16/1931-32	Kōnērinmai-koṇḍān 4					4 accu per year 600 paṇam
Alagarkōil 8/1931-32	Kōnērinmai-koṇḍān 2					—

Name of village Reference.	*Ruler's name date.*	*Rates for wet lands (Per ma) Pisanam Kuruvai Baling*	*Dry crops to be specified.*	*Remarks.*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Alagarkōil 326/1930	Kōnērinmai-koṇḍān	5 Kalam		Pon 27 in Paḍaikuḍi (Tenpida Nāḍu)
Alagarkōil 290/1930	Kōnērinmai-koṇḍān	4 Kalam Tūṇi Antarāyam 25 panam for 3 tanks		Land in Dvārāpati Nāḍu
Alagarkōil 315/1930	N.A.	3 Kalams		
Alagarkōil 320, 321/1930	Sundara	3 Kalams & 1 accu		
Kunnattūr 226/1964-65	Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara AD 1218	8 Kalam Antarāyam 3 accu		Araiselavu 1 Kalam
Karuṅgālakkuḍi 153/1973-74	Jaṭ. Sundara I 12 AD 1262	5 Kalam Puñjay-nañjey 1 Paṇam ½ Kalam		wet crops grown as dry land
Karuṅgālakkuḍi 152/1973-74	Jaṭ. Sundara I 12 AD 1262	2 Kalams 1 Paṇam 5 Paṇam	Varagu 1 paṇam	
Tiruvādavūr 473/62-63	Kōnērinmai-koṇḍān 6	Rājēndracōḷa Cm. 6 Kalam ¼ Kāsu Tivattūr 4 Accu Mēlaipalli 10 Accu kuṟicci Puḷiyaṅguḍi 10 Accu		

Name of village Reference. (1)	Ruler's name date. (2)	Rates for wet lands (Per ma) Pisanam (3)	Kuruvai	Baling	Dry crops to be specified. (4)	Remarks. (5)
Tiruvādavūr 476/1962-63	Kōnērinmai-kondān - 6	Kilādri	Accu 1 Kāśu ½			
Tiruvādavūr 479-480/62-63	Mār. Kulasekhara - 29 AD 1297	2 accu per vēli 1 mā.	$^{1}/_{10}$ accu			Land in Paḷḷikuṟicci
Tiruvādavūr 493/62-63	Mār. Kulasekhara - 10 AD 1278-79	4½ Kalam Antarāyam 5 mēni Dramam $^{13}/_{320}$				Temple grant
Mēlamangalam Unnumbered	NA	14 Kalam	7	½ i.e. ½ Kalam	N.A.	
Tiruccunai SII VIII/411	Jat. Sundara I	Sugarcane ¼ Betel	6 Kalam 1 panam	—	Varagu Tinai ¼ Turmeric, Gingely kuruṇai, Ginger: 1 paṇam	
Tiruccunai SII VIII/409	Sundara	5 Kalams 2 pon: Antarāyam			Dry 1 paṇam	
Tiruccunai SII VIII/409	Mār. Kulaśēkhara 13 AD 1281	5 Kalams 1 Dramam ¼ Antarāyam		—	Tinai Varagu ¼ Gingelly 1 Dramam	

Name of village Reference.	*Ruler's name date.*	*Rates for wet lands (Per ma) Pisanam Kuruvai Baling*	*Dry crops to be specified.*	*Remarks.*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Tiruccunai SII VIII/417	Kulaśēkhara 13 + 14	5 Kalams Cash 5 (meni) Dramam (?)		
Sinnamanūr SII XXIII/435	Mār. Kulaṣekhara -I 3 AD 1271-72	30 Kalam		could be double crop lands
Tiruvēḍagam 677/1905	S 1448 AD 1526 Vijayanagara Krishnadēvaraya	3 Kalams 1 paṇam ¾ Betel 5 paṇams per ma		
Madurai SII IV/373	Kōnērinmai- koṇḍān			Vādākkadan 50 pon
Palani 301/1955-56	—	9 and odd Kalams		

RAMANATHAPURAM DISTRICT

Name of village Reference.	*Ruler's name date.*	*Rates for wet lands (Per ma)* *Pisanam*	*Kuruvai*	*Baling*	*Dry crops to be specified.*	*Remarks.*
(1)	(2)	(3)			(4)	(5)
		i	ii	iii		
Srivilliputtūr 546, 547, 549/ 1926	Mār. Sundara I 1218-19	7 Kalam 2 Dramam (Antarāyam)				
Veṅgānallūr 521/1962-63	Mār. Sundara II —	2 Kalam 3 Kuruṇi Kāsu 3 mā mukkāṇi Betel-full rate	Ādi ¾ Arpasi ½	¼	Tinai 1¼ Dramam Pul iruṅgu 1 Dramam	
Cōlapuram SII XXVI 528	Kōnērinmai-koṇḍān	4 Kalam	¾	¼		Kasu ¼
Cōlapuram Ibid / 524	N.A.	4 Kalam ¼ accu				
Cōlapuram Ibid / 513	- -	Irāśipaṇam Kuliga 100 pon				
Puduppālayam SII XXVI / 532, 533, 554	Mār. Sundara II 1248-49	6 Kalam Kāsu N.A.	(Aḍi) ¾ Arpasi Kuruvai ½	¼	2 Dramam per Mā	
Sāttūr 231 / 1941	Mār. Vikrama 5 + 1	4 Kalam 6 Kāśu				
Mūvaraivenrān 37/1946-47	Kulaśēkhara	8 Kalam 1½ Dramam	½	—	Karuñjey & Puñjay	Dry 1½ Dramam

Name of village Reference.	Ruler's name date.	Rates for wet lands (Per ma) Pisanam	Kuruvai	Baling	Dry crops to be specified.	Remarks.
(1)	(2)	(3)			(4)	(5)
		I	II	III		
Aruppukkōṭṭai 409/1914	Sundara	3 Kalam				
Aruppukkōṭṭai 410/1914	Māṟ. Kulaśēkhara					
Aruppukkōṭṭai 412/1914	Māṟ. Sundara I 14 (AD 1230)	4 Kalams			¼ Dramam (16 mēni)	
Aruppukkōṭṭai 44/1914	Māṟ. Kulaśēkhara	6 Kalams				
Koḍamalūr SII XXIII/399	Māṟ. Sundara I (4) (AD 1220)	N.A. 3/8 Kāśu	(Adi) ¾ Arpasi ½	¼	1¼ Dramam	
Nayinārkōil 34, 35/1931-32	Jat. . . . . . Pandya 8	12 Kalam 2 paṇam	¾		Gingelly 3 paṇam Varagu, rāgi, 3 Kalam (grain) cotton,castor 2 paṇam Blacksoil & dry ¼ mā accu	Oṭṭu (lease)
Tirumālugandān-kōṭṭai 38, 39 / 1931-32	Māṟ. Sundara II 6 (AD 1244)	3 Kalams				
Tirumālugandān-kōṭṭai 42, 43/1931-32	Kōnērinmai-koṇḍān	2(½) Kalam	½	—	Grass, Iruṅgu Castor ½ Dramam	

Name of village Reference.	*Ruler's name date.*	*Rates for wet lands (Per mā)*			*Dry crops to be specified.*	*Remarks.*
(1)	(2)	(3)			(4)	(5)
		i *Pisanam*	ii *Kuruvai*	iii *Baling*		
Tirumālugandān-kōṭṭai 47/1931-32	Kōnērinmai-koṇḍān 8	3 Kalam			¾ Dramam	
Tirumālugandān-kōṭṭai 56/1931-32	S 1499 AD 1577	3 Kalams	2 Kalams			1 paṇam cash per mā. Deity's grant
Viḷuppanūr 382, 384/1961-62	Māṟ. Sundara II 1242-43	2½ Kalams ¼ Kāśu	½	¼	Gingelly & Varagu, 16 meni Dramam 1 Black soil ¾ Dry ½	
Viḷuppanūr 385, 386 1961-62	Kōnērinmai-koṇḍān	4 ¼ Kāśu	½	¼	Gingelly & Varagu 16 meni Dramam 1 Otherday ½ Dramam	Land in Marudūr
Viluppanūr 387 1961-62	N.A. 11 + 1 + 1	2½ Kalam ¼ Kāśu	(Ādi) ¾ Aṟpasi ½		Gingelly & Varagu 2 Dramam other dry & blacksoil 1 Dramam	Jīvitam tenure changed
Vēmbattūr 341/1959-60	Māṟ. Sundara I	3 Kalam Dramam ¾	Tūṇi			Fragment
Kōvānūr 46 1926	. . . .		(Ādi) ½			Tūṇi-Viniyōgam

Name of village Reference.	Ruler's name date.	Rates for wet lands (Per ma) Pisanam	Kuruvai	Baling	Dry crops to be specified.	Remarks.
(1)	(2)	(3) i	ii	iii	(4)	(5)
Kōvānūr 49/1926	N.A.		($\frac{1}{2}$+$\frac{1}{18}$ of the main rate)			
Mēlanettūr No. N.A. 1989/90	Kōnērinmai-kondān	5 Kalam $\frac{1}{8}$ accu		$\frac{1}{8}$ accu alone		Only if yielded without water scarcity
Mēlanettūr No. N.A. 1989/90	Mār. Sundara I	50 kāśu per year				Kannanūr & Mēmangala nādu
Kīlanettūr 220/1976-77	Mār. Sundara II	4 accu				An Ottu for all taxes
Pāganēri 328/1948-50	Sundara Pāndya 15	4 kalams			Gingelly, Varagu ¼	Mēlavellengi ayacut - ½ 3 makkani Kilavellangi - accu 3. 6 Makkani
Pāganēri 333/1949-50	Vīra Pāndya 5	1 kalam ½ Dramam				
Tiruppāccētti 75/1929	Jat. Śrīvallabha	5 kalam ½ kāśu reduced to i.e. 3¼ kalams $\frac{3}{8}$ kāśu				Reduction in assessment

Name of village Reference.	Ruler's name date.	Rates for wet lands (Per ma) Pisanam	Kuruvai	Baling	Dry crops to be specified.	Remarks.
(1)	(2)	(3) i	ii	iii	(4)	(5)
Kānūr 75/1929	Jat. Kulaśēkhara I 1204	7 Kalam Antarayam 5 Mēni Dramam Viniyōgam Tūṇi	Māsi Kuṟuvi Ādi Kuṟuvai	¾ ¾	Tinai varagu Gingelly i Dramam	
Alagarkōil 275/196	Jat. Kulaśēkhara I 1204	Iḍai Kāttūr alias Aḻagiya-pāṇḍyapuram	4 Kalam ¼ kāśu		—	—
Tiruppūvaṇam EI XXV 130	Jat. Kulaśēkhara I	Vāgaikkuḍi Muttaraṅa kōṭṭai Siṟukiḷāṅ-gāṭṭūr	 10 kāśu 5 kāśu	10 kāśu	—	Oṭṭu half in cash half in paddy
Tiruppūvaṇam SII V 305-306	Parākrama Pāṇḍya					450 paṇam - Tanippaṅgu pāṭṭam ¾ in one crop, ¼ in the next
Kānūr 355-357/1961-62	Māṟ. Sundara II					Cash Accu 3 Mā arai Kāni mundirigai
Ēriyūr (Svg) 337/1923	N.A.	3 Kalam 1 Dramam				

Name of village Reference.	Ruler's name date.	Rates for wet lands (Per ma) Pisanam Kuruvai Baling	Dry crops to be specified.	Remarks.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Muḍikkarai 1983-84	Māṟ. Sundara	3 Kalam 1/8 Dramam ½ Antarāyam	Gingelly horsegram	Palmyra trees 1/16 Dramam Antarāyam ½ Dramam Wet crops Paḷan kāśu antarāyam 5 mēni Dramam ½
Kāḷaiyārkōil SII VIII/166	Jaṭ. Sundara		—	Separate demand 15 Accu
Kāḷaiyārkōil SII VIII/172, 173, 174 also in 177-178	Sundara	1 Kalam 1 Kuṟuṇi Antarāyam ½ Paṇam ½	Varagu ½ Dry ¼	
Kāḷaiyārkōil SII VIII/175	N.A.		Tinai, Varagu, Rāgi ¼	
Kāḷaiyārkōil SII VIII/170	Māṟ. Vīra	7 Kalam Citrai 1 Kuṟuṇi Āḍi Aṟpasi	Tinai, Kēḻvaragu ¼	16 Vāśi (1/16) paddy to be charged for and for "Sāvi" paddy double (for wastage and no grain) Oṭṭu-paṇam 18

Name of village Reference.	Ruler's name date.	Rates for wet lands (Per mā) Pisanam	Kuruvai	Boling	Dry crops to be specified.	Remarks.
(1)	(2)	(3)			(4)	(5)
Kalaiyārkōil SII VIII 171	Mār. Kulaśēkhara I	1 Kalam ¾			Varagu ½ Tinai Kēḷvaragu ¼	Lands in sēṟṟūr (Seithūr) ?
Kalayārkōil SII VIII 176	Kulaśēkhara	1 Kalam Accu 2				Separated levy : 2 accu only 2 accu in years of no yield
Kalayārkōil SII VIII 175	Mār. Kulaśēkhara 40	2 Kalam ½ accu 14 paṇam				
Tiruppattūr SII XIV 228	Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha 10 AD 1100					Māḍai -17½ 1 Mā Māḍai 25¼ 3 Mā Māḍai 43 9 Mā
Tiruppattūr 165 1936	Mār. Sundara I 22 AD 1238	7 Kalam 1 Tūṇi	Paṇam 1		Gingelly Varagu Paṇam 1	
Tiruppattūr 166 1936	Mār. Sundara II 2 (AD 1240)	1 Kalam 16 Mēni Dramam 2 (Also for Sugarcane Betel. banana)	Arpasi Kuruvai ½ Ādi kuruvai ¼		Gingelly Varagu ¼ Other dry: ½ kalam per Mā (of grain)	

Name of village Reference.	Ruler's name date.	Rates for wet lands (Per ma) Pisanam	Kuruvai	Baling	Dry crops to be specified.	Remarks.
(1)	(2)	(3)			(4)	(5)
Tiruppattūr 130/171	Tri Sundara II	3 Kalam 16 mēni Dramam 1	Ar̤pasi ½	¼ (Baling)	Gingelly, Varagu 1 Dramam per Mā	
Kāḷaiyārkōil 167/1936	Kulaśēkhara 13 - 5	2 Kalam (Accumēni) Dramam 1				Lands in Pūṅgunr̤a Nāḍu
Kāḷaiyārkōil 168/1936	Kōnērinmai- kōndān		Ar̤pasi Kur̤uvai	—		
Kāḷaiyārkōil 187/1936	Kulaśēkhara 18 + 10	4 Kalam 5 mēni Dramam 1	Kōḍai ¼ Ar̤pasi Kur̤uvai ½			Lands in Pūṅgunr̤a Nāḍu
Tiruppattūr 171/1936	Mār̤. Kulaśēkhara I AD 1285					Excluding Ul̤udānkuḍi, vāram To pay out of mēlvaram jīvitam Kaḍamai and Kāśu Balance temple
Tiruppattūr 179/1936	S 1460 AD 1538	10 Kalam 1 cakram Also for Sugarcane betel,banana Turmeric, Ginger	½ (5 Kalam) ½ cakram		Gingelly,Varagu 1/2 Other dry 1/4	

Name of village Reference.	*Ruler's name date.*	*Rates for wet lands (Per ma) Pisanam Kuruvai Baling*	*Dry crops to be specified.*	*Remarks.*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Tirukōṣṭiyūr 288, 289/1923	Jaṭ. Vīra	12 Kalam ¾ Dramam (25 mēni per accu)		
Tirukōstiyūr 283/1923	Kulaśēkhara	3½ Kalams Antarāyam mēni 1¾ Dramam		
Sivapuri 40 of 1028-29	Kulaśēkhara	3 Kalams 1 Dramam		Land granted to a Brahmin on an obligation
Sivapuri SII XIV/243	Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha	Antarāyam 1 Dramam		A Brahmadēya constituted
Sivapuri 59/243	Kulaśēkhara 13 + 14	1 Dramam	Gingelly ¼ Palaṅkāśu Other grains : 2 Kalams of grain grown Castor : ½ Palaṅkāśu	
Caturvēdi-mangalam 302/1925	Jaṭ. Vikrama 5	3 Kalam Antarāyam Palaṅkāśu 1/8		

Name of village Reference.	Ruler's name date.	Rates for wet lands (Per ma) Pisanam	Kuruvai	Baling	Dry crops to be specified.	Remarks.
(1)	(2)	(3)			(4)	(5)
Tiruppattūr 124. 128/1908	1280 Jaṭ. Vīra 22 1240 Jaṭ. Vikrama 8 + 14 S 1344 AD 1422					Uḻavu Tavaṇai sale on varam tenure. No Kīḻ vārappaccai leviable as it was not levied earlier Sale by temple
Kunnakkuḍi 408/1954-55	Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha 32	$^1/_3$ of earlier levy		¼ thereof	Tinai, varagu & broadcast dry $^1/_5$ sowing sugarcane kuṟuṇai $^1/_9$ Turmeric	Reclamation-concession $^1/_3$ of Mēlvāram to be invested on Tank-maintenance
Kunnakkuḍi SII XXVI/44	Māṟ. Sundara 17	4 Kalam 5 mēni Dramam 1	Aṟpasi Kuṟuvai 2 Kalam			
Tirukkaḷakkuḍi 103/1916	Māṟ. Sundara 15	$4^3/_{16}$ Kāl Rasipaṇam 5	(Ādi) Proportionate reduction			Increment remission
Tirukkaḷakkuḍi 62/1916	Jaṭ. Sundara	$^1/_3$ Sugarcane Betel $^1/_3$			Tinai, varagu ¼ Koḷḷu Vegetables $^1/_8$	

Name of village Reference.	Ruler's name date.	Rates for wet lands (Per ma) Pisanam	Kuruvai	Baling	Dry crops to be specified.	Remarks.
(1)	(2)	(3)			(4)	(5)
Tirukkaḷakkuḍi 115/1916	Kulaśēkhara 28th	3 Kalam				
Tirukkaḷakkuḍi 66/1916	Jaṭ. Sundara 19	$^1/_3$ Sugarcane Betel $^1/_3$ Banana	—	—	Gingelly Horsegram $^1/_5$ varagu other dry $^1/_7$	Coconut, arecanut $^1/_7$ Increment remission till 4th year
Tirukkaḷakkuḍi 65/1916	S 1542	Oṭṭu Vādākkaḍan: 10 Paṇam 120 kalam				Kistbandi: $^6/_{10}$ Tai to Āni $^4/_{10}$ Āḍi to Mārgaḷi
Pillaiyārpaṭṭi 153/1936	Mār. Sundara I 12 AD 1228					As per Adayaḷūr Nāḍu rates in vogue
Iraṇiyūr 7/1926	Mār. Sundara I 15 AD 1231	2 Kalam	Arpasi $^1/_3$ Āḍi ¼		Gingelly Horsegram ¼	(Sāttanēri ayacut)
Iraṇiyūr 4/1926	Sundara	1¼ Kalam	Kōḍai ¼			Ur Viniyōgam Irāśipaṇam 3
Iraṇiyūr 5/1926	Sundara 3rd	5 Kalam Tuṇi				
Iraṇiyūr 6/1926	N.A. 20 + 1	2 Kalam 1 Dramam	Āḍi, Arpasi 1 Kalam ½ Dramam		Tinai, varagu ½ Kalam Dry (¼) Kalam	

Name of village Reference	Ruler's name date.	Rates for wet lands (Per ma) Pisanam	Kuruvai	Baling	Dry crops to be specified.	Remarks.
(1)	(2)	(3)			(4)	(5)
Iraṇiyūr 10/1926	Māṟ. Sundara 3rd	2 Kalam ½ Dramam	½	—	Gingelly Horsegram ¼ Tinai Varagu	
Pillaiyārpaṭṭi 151/1936	Māṟ. Kulaśēkhara 41		Vāram Kōdai 1/3 Kōdai ¼ ½ panam			
Śākkōṭṭai 43/45-47	Māṟ. Sundara	6 Kalams 20 Kāśu Antarāyam				
Śākkōṭṭai 56/46-47	Māṟ. Kulaśēkhara 7	1 Kalam	½		Gingelly Horsegram ½	Jīvitam
Śākkōṭṭai 98/45-46	Vīra Pāṇḍya 36	4 Kalam	2 Kalam		Varagu 1 Kalam gingelly 2 Tūṇi Cotton-as per vogue in the Nāḍu Paddy-hand-sown 2 Kalams	
Nēmam 213/1980-81	Māṟ. Sundara I 1213	2 Kalam	½ (as per condition)			

Name of village Reference.	*Ruler's name date.*	*Rates for wet lands (Per ma)* *Pisanam*	*Kuruvai*	*Baling*	*Dry crops to be specified.*	*Remarks.*
(1)	(2)	(3)			(4)	(5)
Sannavanam 14/1916	Kulaśēkhara 13 + 10	3 Kalam	Ādi Aṟpasi ½		Tinai ½	Jīvitamdars half share
Sannavanam 27/1916	Māṟ. Sundara I 1237	2 Kalam 1 Tūni 25 new Kāsu				
Sannavanam 28/1916	Māṟ. Kulaśēkhara I AD 1286	N.A.	¼ (?)		¼	Land cultivated and crop yielding in natham 25 kāśu
Ilayāthakuḍi 17/1926	Māṟ. Sundara I 5th AD 1221,	7 Kalams ¼				
Ilayāthakuḍi 18/1926	Māṟ. Vīra Sundara I AD 1222	2 Kalam	1 Kalam		Gingelly Horsegram ½ Kalam	Jīvitamdar has remitted his taxes
Vēlaṅguḍi 510/1958-59	Māṟ. Sundara 5th	Vādākkaḍamai 55 paṇam				
Abhirāmapuram 1990-91	N.A.	2 Kalams ¼			Gingelly Varagu Tinai ¼	
Talakkāvūr 219/1980-81	Māṟ. Sundara 7 + 1					Rāsipaṇam 2

Name of village Reference.	Ruler's name date.	Rates for wet lands (Per ma) Pisanam	Kuruvai	Baling	Dry crops to be specified.	Remarks.
(1)	(2)	(3)			(4)	(5)
Talakkāvūr 215/1980-81	Māṟ. Sundara 15 AD 1231	2 Kalam 13 Kuṟuṇi ¼				Determined amount 1600 (Paṇam)
Talakkāvūr 195/1980-81	Vīra Pāṇḍya 2 + 6	—	—	—		Determined amount 1200 paṇam
Talakkāvūr 193/1980-81	Kōnērinmai- koṇḍān 13 + 14					50% remission-relief
Talakkāvūr 192/1980-81	Vikrama Pāṇḍya (13th Century)					
Talakkāvūr 196/1980-81	Rājarāja Sundara 13	I Taram II Taram III Taram Sugarcane Betel etc.	8 Kalam 4 Kalam 3 Kalam	 ½	Varagu ½ Gingelly $^{1}/_{3}$ melvaram Dry 1 paṇam pudu guligai panam	Mā - -2 paṇam
Uñjanai 189/1980-81	Rājarāja Sundara 10	2 Kalam Arecanut Sugarcane as per mēni crop	Kalam Tūṇi Kalam 2 Kalam		 Tinai 2 Tūṇi Gingelly Kalam, 3 Kuṟuṇi	
Tiruvāḍānai 434/1916	Kōnērinmai- koṇḍān	4 Kāl. 3 Nāḻi Kāśu-3 Mā Mukkāṇi				Remision $^{1}/_{16}$ kalam 1 kalam 7 Kuṟuṇi Nāḻi from 16th year

Name of village Reference.	Ruler's name date.	Rates for wet lands (Per ma) Pisanam	Kuruvai	Baline	Dry crops to be specified.	Remarks
(1)	(2)	(3)			(4)	(5)
Radhānūr 57/1926	Pāṇḍya N.A. 20 + ¼ + 1	4 Kalam ¾ ½ Dramam	Arpasi	Kuruvai ¼		
Nāyanārkōil 34 & 35/1931-32	Jat . . . . 8th year	2 Kalam ¼ 1 paṇam			Varagu 1 3 Kalam Rāgi 1 grain Gingelly 3 paṇam Cotton & Castor 2 paṇam	Oṭṭu
Periccikōil 77/1924	Mār. Sundara I	Sugarcane			Gingelly Tinai ¾ Varagu (on inspection by Dēvakanmis Dry ¼	
Periccikōil 87/1924	Mār. Sundara I 21 AD 1237	2 Kalam 5 mēni Dramam 1				Jivitam lands Hence lower rates
Periccikōil 92/1924	Mār. Sundara I 9th AD 1225	3 Kalam	Arpasi Kuruvai ½ Ādi Kuruvai ¼		Tinai Varagu ¼	
Periccikōil 68/1924	Sundara					Lands granted to Brahmins-to pay to the temples

Name of village Reference.	*Ruler's name date.*	*Rates for wet lands (Per ma)*			*Dry crops to be specified.*	*Remarks.*
		Pisanam	*Kuruvai*	*Baling*		
(1)	(2)	(3)			(4)	(5)
Pericciköil 56/1924	Mār. Kulaśēkhara I 1286	5 Kalam 1/8 Paḷankāśu				On lands which come to yield
Tirumalai 19/1924	Jat. Kulaśēkhara	3 Kalams 1 Dramam				39/1920 Parākrama Pāṇḍya Same rates
Tirumalai 25/1924	Jat. Kulaśēkhara	same as above				
Tirumalai 27. 28/1924	Jat. Kulaśēkhara 6 AD 1196	5 Kalam	Ādi ½		Tiṇai Varagu ½ Gingelly ¼ Garden land (Kollai) ½	Same as 23/1924
32/1924	Jat. Kulaśēkhara 4	4 Kalams 1 Dramam (5 mēni)			Varagu ½ Tiṇai ¼	Viniyōgam Tūṇi Padakku -do- 23/1924
29/1924	Jat. Kulaśēkhara					
Tirumalai 18/1924	Mār. Sundara N.A.	40 Kala varisai 1 mā = 3 kal Antarāyam 7/8 Dramām	Arpasi kuruvai ¼ Ādi kuruvai ½		Varagu ½ Gingelly Tiṇai ¼ Dry ½ Dramam	For yielded lands Viniyogam Tūṇi paddy

Name of village Reference.	Ruler's name date.	Rates for wet lands (Per ma) Pisanam	Kuruvai	Baling	Dry crops to be specified.	Remarks.
(1)	(2)	(3)			(4)	(5)
Tirumalai 36/1924	Māṛ. Sundara II 12	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	36/1924 kaḷāṇju
Tirumalai 23/1924	Jaṭ. Vīra	40 kala-varisai (on yielded crops) per Mā. 3 Kalam Antarāyam 5 mēni Dramam			Kalam Kuṛuṇi	

TABLE - V

Inscription & Reference	*Ruler & date as far as certainable*	*Name of the standard measurment of land*	*Name of the grain measurment adopted*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
TIRUNELVĒLI DT.			
Seiduṅganallūr 367/1954-60	Jaṭ. Srivallabha I 19 + 1 AD 1110		Vīrapāṇḍyankāl
Dārukāpuram 568/1915	Kōnerinmaikōṇḍān	12 Śān pole	
Tirunelvēli SII/438	Mār̤. Sundara (13)		6 Nāḷi kāl
Tirunelvēli SII V/446	Mār̤. Sundara II 1246-47	24 Śān rod	
Tirunelvēli 44/1927	Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān	18 Śān rod	
77, 78/1927	Kulaśēkhara	....	6 Nāḷi kāl
Śrīvaikuṇṭam SII V/1927	Vīra Pāṇḍya		7 Nāḷi kāl
MADURAI DT.			
Tirumōhūr 75/1905	S 1551 AD 1629		8 Paḍi kāl

Inscription & Reference	*Ruler & date as far as certainable*	*Name of the standard measurment of land*	*Name of the grain measurment adopted*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Kunrattūr Madurai	AD 1218		Kadamaikkāl (Kaṇḍadivan)
Karuṅgālakkuḍi 153/1973-74	AD 1262	Kuḍitāṅgi Kōl - 18	Nāttār Kāl
Tiruccunai SII VIII, 411	Jaṭ. sundara I 14	By 18 pole 256 kuḻi I mā	
Madurai SII IV/370, 371	Jaṭ. Vīra 21st	By 21 pole	
RAMANATHAPURAM DT.			
Srivilliputtūr 546, 547, 549/1926	Māṟ. Sundara I AD 1218 - 19	Pattañjankāḷ 15 Kuṟuṇi = 1 Kalam (as against 12 Kalams elsewhere)	
Veṅgānallūr 521/1962-63	Māṟ. Sundara II	Sundarapāṇḍyankōl	Vīra Pāṇḍyan kalam
Cōḻapuram SII XXVI 528	Kōnērinmaikondān	18 rod Vīra Pāṇḍyan	Vīra Pāṇḍyan kalam
Cōḻapuram SII XVI 524	. . . .	Vīra Pāṇḍyan Kōl	Vīra Pāṇḍyan kalam

Inscription & Reference	*Ruler & date as far as certainable*	*Name of the standard measurment of land*	*Name of the grain measurment adopted*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Puduppāḷayam SII XXVI-532			Kaḍamai kāl
Mūvarai Venṟān 37-46-47	Kulaśēkhara 3 + 5	24 Śān rod = 1 Mā	Āyirattenmarai Kāl
Aruppukkōṭṭai 410/1914		16 Śān Kōl	Iḍattuvali Ūr Kal Pīḍigai measure
Aruppukkōṭṭai 412/1914			Could it be Maḍigai ?
Aruppukkōṭṭai 414/1914			"Tarutaderipālan" measure
Koḍumaḷūr SII XXIII/399	Māṟ. Sundara (?) 4		
Nayinārkōil 34, 35/1931-32	N.A. 8th year	18 Śān pole	
Tirumālugandānkōṭṭai 42, 43/1931-32			Ūr Nāḻikkāl
Tiruppāccētti 75/1929	Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha	18 Śān Kōl	Paṭṭāran Kāl (10 : 6)

Inscription & Reference	*Ruler & date as far as certainable*	*Name of the standard measurment of land*	*Name of the grain measurment adopted*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Kānūr 369-61-82	N.A.	Kōl Kuḍitaṅgi	Valaiyir kāl (Kāl prevelent in surrounding village?) Abhimuktamarakkāl
Eriyūr 337 Ibid	N.A.		
Alagarkōil 275/1930	Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara I AD 1205 (Lands in Iḍaikāṭṭūr)		Vīra Pāṇḍyan Kāl
Viluppanūr (Srivillipputtur tk) 382, 384 1961-62	Māṛ. Sundara I 1242-43		Vīra Pāṇḍyan Kāl
Viluppanūr 355, 386 1961-62	Kōnērinmai		Vīra Pāṇḍyan Kāl
Viluppanūr 387/1961-62	N.A.		Vīra Pāṇḍyan Kāl
Kāḷaiyārkōil SII VIII 170	Māṛ. Vīra 14	18 Kōlkuḍitāṅgi	
Kāḷaiyārkōil SII VIII 171	Māṛ. Kulaśēkhara I		The measure adopted in the market shops of sōṟṟūr.

Inscription & Reference	*Ruler & date as far as certainable*	*Name of the standard measurment of land*	*Name of the grain measurment adopted*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Kāḷaiyārkōil SII VIII/176	Kulaśēkhara		Śivakkoḻundu marakkāl
Tiruppattūr 165/1935-36	Māṟ. Sundara I AD 1238		Oruvarai marakkāl
Tiruppattūr 166/1936	Māṟ. Sundara II AD 1240	Kōlkuḍitāngi	Kaḷaiyārkālan measure
Tiruppattūr 130/1908	Tri. Sundara	24 Śān Kuḍitāngi	
Tiruppattūr 167/1936	Kulaśēkhara 13 + 5	Kuḍitāngi rod	Nāṭṭukkāl
Tiruppattūr 187/1936	Kulaśēkhara 13 + 10	Kuḍitāngi rod	Current Kuṭṭaikāl
Tiruppattūr 179/1936	S 1450		Min maḻikkāl
Tirukōṣṭiyūr 288, 189/1923	Jaṭ. Vīra		Desavāttai Marakkāl
Tirukōṣṭiyūr 287/1923	Kulaśēkhara		'Vīrapāṇḍyan' measure

Inscription & Reference	*Ruler & date as far as certainable*	*Name of the standard measurment of land*	*Name of the grain measurment adopted*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Śivapuri SII XIV/243	Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha 17 AD 1107	'Aruḷnidhi' (rod)	
Caturvēdimaṅgalam 382/1928			Śrīpaṇḍārakkāl
Tirukkalakkuḍi 65/1916	S 1542		Tirukkoṭṭārakkāl
Iraṇiyūr 7/1926	Mār. Sundara I AD 1231		Nāṭṭuk kaḍarnai kāl
Sākkōṭṭai 55/46-47	Mār. Kulaśēkhara 7		Vīraśēkharan kāl
Nēmam 213/1980-81	Mār. Sundara I AD 1237	Kuḍitāṅgi kōl	
Sannavanam 14/1916	Kulaśēkhara 13 + 10	16 Śāṇ Kōl	
Sannavanam 27/1916	Mār. Sundara I 20 + 1 AD 1237	18 Śāṇ Kol	Māḷava māṇikkan measure
Abhirāmapuram No. N.A. 1990 91	N.A.	22 'Kāṇaviniya perumāḷ rod'	

Inscription & Reference	*Ruler & date as far as certainable*	*Name of the standard measurment of land*	*Name of the grain measurment adopted*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Uñjanai 196/1980-81	Rājarāja Sundara Pāṇḍya 13		'Valavay' measure
Uñjanai 189/1980-81			Kōil kāl
Radhānūr 57/1926	N.A.	24 feet Sundarapāṇḍyan Kōl	
Nayinārkōil 34 & 35 1981-82	Jat. . . . . N.A.	18 Kōl	Kōil kāl

(ii) MISCELLANEOUS LEVIES

In addition to the local levies, a variety of miscellaneous levies or demands were in vogue. These were either due to the King or to the community in its organised institutional frame, the Ūr, the Sabhā and the Nagara or the larger aggregate of Ūrs, the Nāḍu. They were payable in different forms - in cash, in the form of produce, or by way of services, or in lieu thereof in cash. They were also payable in varied months, in Āḍi, Āvaṇi, Kārthigai synchronising with some festivals or the time of the crop yield. The levies were per capita for class or caste of persons and for residential habitats and a share of the crop produce or lay way of free labour, or feeding and sheltering the royal and community servants.

These levies have been classified and their import as far as can be made out are given in the statements that follow. The particular reign or date is not given as there is reason to presume from the persistent occurence of these terms in the inscriptions that they were in force throughout the period. Some of the levies might be additions in a later period but had subsisted thereafter. The long customary usage and its force would have allowed but a few additions but less of discontinuance of these levied. There is nothing to suggest that because some terms do not occur in a particular township it was not leviable therein. The general pattern of community obligations could only have been persistent and ubiquitous. Where evidence is available, the qualification of the levy has been given. Also it is noticed that itemised levies were several but payment was made in a consolidated manner for several of them in a few cases.

The classification adopted are the following :-

(1) Free services and payments to the King and the deity and other dues.

(2) Community obligation of the Ūr, Sabhā, Nagaram to the king.

(3) Free labour for community services.

(4) Taxes on cultivators, cultivation and land produce levies of a miscellaneous nature.

(5) for watch and ward and other services.

(6) Taxes on houses, house sites.

(7) Taxes on professions or processing.

(8) Others not classified (including those unclear)

The lasting impression that this analysis leaves is how the community bestirred itself in all known avenues to further community facilities and avenues of community life and enjoyment. The emphasis was more on the obligations, of the individual and sections of the community to the whole, resident in a particular location. The King himself had no mean share of these obligations in cash, in kind or through services.

Some of these obligation might be occasional others more enduring. The benefits of the services for the tank and channel maintenance and of the public amenities accrued to the community. The sheer variety and number of their demands were earn if the incidence of every individual item might be small together could have been exacting, more so when the rulers and their men were unimaginative and oppresive. Towards the end of the 13th and early 14th century this condition was well reflected and the hardships were pronounced.

These are dealt with in the chapter that follows.

TABLE VI

Payment and Free Service for King/Temple (deity) or other dues.

Name of Place Ref. (1)	*Name of levy.* (2)	*It import.* (3)
Tirunelvēli SII V/448 Also in Āttūr 410/1933	Pañjupīli Sandivigrahappēṟu	(fluff of cotton) levy or War peace payment to "madhyastha or document" writer SITI (TNS p 1425)
Seiduṅganallūr	Ugavai	Fee on auspicious or joyous occasions
Āttūr 430/1933	Veḷḷōlai Vilakkeṇṇai Silvari Peruvari Vāśal Pōnda Kuḍimai	Epistle fee Caster oil for lamp minor taxes Major taxes Free services or labour at the Royal gate.
Idaikāl 506, 507, 508/1916	Kaṟpūravilai Vāraphalam Iñjiruppu vari	Land levy Produce - share (?) Services / Payment

Name of Place Ref. (1)	*Name of levy.* (2)	*It import.* (3)
Giriyambālpuram 455/1916	Vāśal pēru Ilāncinaippēṟu	(at the king's gate) (For affixing Royal sign manual)
Siṅgikuḷam 258/1941	Pañjupīli	For affixing royal sign
	Sandhivigrahappēṟu	Manual For prayer at the
	Tiruvilaccunai	King's gate.
	Tiruvāsalōḍal	
V. Kārukuṟicci 529/1916	Kāśukaḍamai	Payment in cash
	Kaipaccai	Produce for ceremonials
	Ōlaieḷuthu	Levy for espistle of royal command.
Tiruvālīśvaram 359/1916	Kaṇḍōn vari	?
	Naḍantavari	?
Kollāpuram 146-47	Vannam	
	Alivannakkuḷi	?
	Ugavai	?
Madurai SII IV/373-369	Pañjupīli	
	Sandhivigrahappēru	
	Vāśalviniyōgam	
	Vāḍākkaḍamai	
	Ūrālvari	Ceremonial procession
	Vāśalvari	Tax at the royal gate
	Kārtigaippon viniyōgam	Distributed cash levy at the time of Kārthigai
	Āḷtēvai	Labour demand
	Maḍittēvai	?
	Ānai śālai	(for maintaining elephant corp)
	Kudiraippandi	for horse stables
	Ōlai eḷettu	for written orders of the King
	Ōlai eḍuppu	for conveying the oral orders
	Vāśalviniyōgam	Distributed levy for the king's gate
	Siṟaivaccu	?

Name of Place Ref. (1)	*Name of levy.* (2)	*It import.* (3)
Aḻagarkōil 8/1931-32	Vēndukōḷ	Requisition of labour in kind by king
	Vāśalurimai	Rights - obligation at palace gate
Aḻagarkōil 308/1930	Āṇḍeḻuttuttēvai	Requisition for annual accounts closure)
	Ānai śālai	
	Kudiraippandi	
	Sirai accu (?)	
	Āyattevai	For services of the princes of the royal family
	Magattevai	
Paḻani 301/1955-56	Nilavaccu	(Land by in cash)
	Kudimai	Labour by cultivating tenants
	Oṭṭaccu	Lease fee in cash
	Vāśal viniyōgam	
	Iṇḍeluttu viniyōgam	
	Ōlai viniyōgam	
	Ādikkārappēṟu	Fee for royal servants
	Ānaicālai	
	Kudiraippandi āyam	
Tirumālugandānkōṭṭai =42, 43/1916	Kūttaccu (?)	?
Tiruppattūr 165, 166/1936	Accuvari	Taxes in cash
	Ponvari	
	Peruvari	
Tirukoṣtiyūr 288, 269/1923	Kaṇkāṇippu	Fee for accountant supervision
	Kuṟaiaruppu	Ceremonial homage & customarily paid at the Palace
283/1923	Karrokari	?

Name of Place Ref. (1)	*Name of levy.* (2)	*It import.* (3)
Iraṇiyūr 7/1926	Accuvari Śilvari Peruvari Sēvakattevari	Requisition for service or Labour
Iraniyūr 10/1926	Ponvari silvari	
Sannavanam 27/1916	Sevakappēru Silvari Ponvari	Requisition for service or Labour
Urujanai 196/1980-81	Tirumadilkōlarai Makkarraj Tirunāltēvaibandam	To the temple obligations for maintaining the temple walls for festoons to be supplied and for obligation at the time of festivals.

(2) For the community obligations of the Ūr, Sabhā Nagaram

Name of Place Ref. (1)	Name of levy. (2)	It import. (3)
Kuṟṟālam 412/1917	Vāriyappeṟu	2 Mā. (payable from Māsi to Āni) after the main harvest for the expenses of the committees of the Township.
Tiruvālīśvaram 359/1916	Ponvari	(in cash in mēlvāram)
Tirunelvēli 479/1927	Sabhāviniyōgam	(Distributed levies due to the Sabhā for common purposes)
Tirunelvēli SII/448	Viniyōgam	(Distributed levies due to the Sabhā for common purposes)
Seiduṅganallūr 367/1959-60	Uḻudānkuḍi Ugavai Viniyogam	Together 8 dramam
Ramnad District		
Tirukōṣṭiyūr 288-289/1923	Kaṇakkappēru	for accountants
Sannavanam 14/1916	Kaṇakkappēru	for accountants
Sannavanam 287/1923	Viniyōgam	
Sannavanam 27/1916	Kanmikaḷ kaṇakkappēṟu (for exercises and accountants)	
Iraniyūr 4/1926	Ūr viniyōgam	Irāsipaṇam 3
Iraniyūr 10/1926	Ūr viniyōgam	
Aḻagarkōil 326/1930	Koṟṟulakkai kaḍaikkūṭṭuilakku	Food & shelter for village servants (accounts finalisation shelter fee)

Name of Place Ref. (1)	*Name of levy.* (2)	*It import.* (3)
Also in Madurai SII Vol. 360, 308/1930	Āṇḍeluttu Tēvai ōlai eḻuttu Ilāñjinai viniyōgam	Annual accounts of services requisition (For royal sign manual)
Paḷani 301/1955-56	Āraitcikkāṇikkai Kālingarāyan viniyōgam Vāsalviniyōgam Āṇḍeluttu viniyōgam . . . elettu	Cash for Court fee
Piḷḷaiyārpaṭṭi 153/1946	Ōlaiviniyōgam Accuvari $^{1}/_{7}$ of the yield of the puravari	Distributed for royal or from the Nāḍu (Fee for mainting cours from gold) or paid in cash.
Iraṇiyūr 7/1926	Accuvari	Synonymous with ponvari (?)
Tirumālugandānkōṭṭai 42, 43/1931-32	Kōilviniyōgam	Distributed levy for the purchase or the temple
Tirunelvēli SII V/448	Kāriyavārāytci	Court fee
Tiruvālīśvaram 359/1916	Nāḍīnṛavari	Distributed levies for the Nāḍu
Kunnattūr 226/64, 65	Nāṭṭokka Kāśu	$^{5}/_{8}$
Paḷani 301/1955-56	Nāṭṭuviniyōgam	. . .
Tirukōṣṭiyūr 301/1923	Nāṭṭokka kāsu	. . .
Piḷḷaiyārpaṭṭi 153/1986	Nāḍīnṛavarigaḷ	. . .

Name of Place Ref. (1)	*Name of levy.* (2)	*It import.* (3)
Iḷayāttakuḍi 17/26	Nāḍīnṟavari	. . .
Tirukōṣṭiyūr SII XIV/233		100 paṇams gifted by Nāṭṭār for levy seemd to be collected as a distributed by levy to gather with Nāṭṭuvari
Tirukōṣṭiyūr 285/1923		3 paṇam as Nāṭṭuvari thro viniyōgam
Iḷayāttakuḍi 16, 17, 18 19/1926		Nāḍīnṟavari Free labour for community services
Tirunelvēli SII V/448	Veṭṭippāṭṭam	Lease amount for the free labour or in lieu there of
Āttūr 43/1933	Śennīrveṭṭi	for channel clearence
V. Kārukuricci 529/1916	Ērivari Kāṇikkai	Tank levy Distributed levy
Madurai SII IV/373	Koṟṟilakkai	food and shelter for royal & community servants
Tirumohūr 75/1905	Kuḍikkaḍamai	cultivater's obligation
Aḷagarkōil 8/1931-32	Vēṇḍukōḷ Veṭṭipāṭṭom	Registration
Tirukōṣṭiyūr 288, 289/1923	Kūṟṟarisi	To supervise the dehusking of paddy / rice

Name of Place Ref. (1)	*Name of levy.* (2)	*It import.* (3)
Iraṇiyūr 10/1926	Veṭṭimuttāvāḷ	due to the Jīvitam holder (free labour due to him)
Sannavanam 27/1916	Veṭṭimuttāvāḷ Kīḻveṭṭi	
Ilayāttakuḍi 21/1916	Veṭṭippāṭṭom Kūṟṟarisi	
Sērmādēvi 673, 674/1916	Śāṭṭāyam	grazing fee .
Sērmādēvi 669/1916	Śāttuvari	Grasing fee Note : If Śāttuvari is a corrupt form of Sāṟṟuvari may refer to the fee on swat palmyra toddy TN S 1430
Kuṟṟālam 431/1917	Maṇṇaḍikūli	¾ Kāsu for earth work as on tanker, canals ?
Tirukōṣṭiyūr 83/1923	Veṭṭimuttāvāḷ	1 Mā Tūṇi Padakku (½ Kalam)

(4) Tax on cultivators, cultivation and land produce levies of a miscellaneous nature

Sērmādēvi 614/1916	Uḻavukkāśu	Vēli 2 Kalam (plough fee)
Sērmādēvi 682/1916	Uḻavukkāśu	cultivating tenant's levy
Kuṟṟālam 431/1917	for inspection of fields	1 Nāḻi per 5 Nāḻi milk

Name of Place Ref. (1)	*Name of levy.* (2)	*It import.* (3)
Tirunelvēli 47/1927	Kadirviniyōgam Ērvari Kuḍimakkaḷ vari	(Plough fee) (Same as uḷudānkuḍi)
Peruṅguḷam SII XXIII/124A-124	Uḷudānkuḍi	
Seiduṅganallūr 367/1959-60	Uḷudānkuḍi Ugavai viniyōgam	together 8 dramams
Āttūr 430/1933	Kūṟṟarisi Peruvari Silvari	
Iḍaikāl 506, 507, 508/1916	Ēṟṟavari	(enhanced levy) Levy on lifts
V. Kārukuricci 529/1916	Nelvari Kuḍi iṟai	
Tiruvālīśvaram 359/1916	Uḷudānkuḍi Ponvari on mēlvāram	
Madurai District		
Kollāpuram 146-147/1908	Iṟaivari Pullicecy Pullicoṟu Ūrīniavari Ugavai	fee and feeding of the superintendents who estimate yield Tax due to the township
Madurai 149/1961-62	All miscellaneous	5 accu

Name of Place Ref. (1)	*Name of levy.* (2)	*It import.* (3)
Madurai SII IV/369	All miscellaneous Kārtigaipaccai Pillaiyārnōnbu Nandavanapaccai Eduthukkattum paccai	5 accu Green vegetable produce in at Kartigai Requirements for Pillaiyar Poojah in Āvaṇi Garden yield share. The first produce/yield share
Madurai 62/1905	Ērvari Taḍi Kuruṇi Taḍi padakku	Plough fee Kuruṇi paddy per field Padakku paddy per field
Alagarkōil 81/1931-32	Korrilakkai	food and shelter for servants
Alagarkōil 308/1930	Kārtigai paccai	
Kunnattūr 226/64-65	Karpūravilai	
Palani 301/1955-56	Antarāyam	

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Tirumālugantānkōṭṭai 42, 43/1931-32	Ēlām puñjey	On Palmyrah - toddy tapping
Tiruppattūr 74/1929	Mākkalam Taḍi padakku Pādikāval	Kalam paddy per mā watch and ward
Tiruppattūr 128/1908	Kīl vārappaccai	From the cultivating tenants

Name of Place Ref. (1)	*Name of levy.* (2)	*It import.* (3)
Tirukōṣṭiyur 305/1923	Kīḻ vārappaccai	
Sannavanam 27/1916	Taḍi Kuṟuṇi	Pl. see below
Kōvilūr 523/1962-63 SI 797 AD 1875	Mākkalam	Kalam paddy per Mā
Tirukkaḷakkuḍi 66/1916	Taḍi-Kuṟuṇi	When Mēlvāram is taken on inspection for the temple threshed floor shall be laid and the crops threshed and from the grain realised/kuruni per field for super intendence shall be deducted in common and thereafter mēlvāram shall be taken at Taḍi kuṟuṇi is to the common account of the mēlvāram and the Kuḍivāram shares thus kuḍi/kalam included in Iṟai, Kuḍimai

(5) **For watch and ward and other services**

Sērmādēvi 682/1916	Pāḍikāval Watch & ward fee	Dramam 133-6 Mākkāṇi
Sērmādēvi 651/1916	Eccoṟu	All feeding obligations of which there were a variety Feeding the royal and Community servants or messengers
	Vēḷaccōṟu	For feeding Soldiery
	Tīyericōṟu	For hōma or sacrifice
	Tīvakaliccoṟu	For torch bearing
	Puḷḷiccoṟu	For servants doing estimation of crop

Name of Place Ref. (1)	*Name of levy.* (2)	*It import.* (3)
431/1917	Maṇṇaḍi kūli	For earth work
Tirunelvēli 47/1977	Sabhā / Iṟaivilai	
Āttūr 430/1933	Eccōṟu	
Iḍaikāl 506, 507, 508/1916	Eccōṟu Variccoru	Feeding the tax collection
Tirukkōṣṭiyūr 288, 280/1923	Eccōṟu	

(6) Tax on house-sites and houses

Kuṟṟālam 406/1901		Manai Iṟai remitted Talaioppu per Kuḍiyiruppu
Āttūr 429-30/1930		levy on residents Manai Iṟai - ¼ accu
Iḍaikāl 506, 507, 508/1916		Kūraipuguvān (house warming entrant to a new house)
Peruṅguḷam 241/1933		House sites - 1 Dramam (16 mēni)
Vīravanallūr 719/1916		Manai Iṟai (Merchants habitat) accu 2
MADURAI		
Aḻagarkōil 308/1930		Manai vari

Name of Place Ref. (1)	*Name of levy.* (2)	*It import.* (3)
Kōkkilāncēri 352/1961-62		House site (Manai) Irai 306 Kōl = 18 sq. kōl = Dramam
Palani 301/1955-56		Nattavari
RAMNAD		
Māriyūr 96/1905		Talaioppu Kāśu on residents - 40 Kāśu (fragment) per head levy on residents
Kalaiyārkōil SII VIII/173-174		Manaivari on residents or neighbouring residents (asal kudi)
Alagāpuri 107/1924		1 Manai = 1¼ dramam Palankāśu = 4 Manaiyāga Dramam
Cōlapuram SII XXVI/518		1 Manai Irai
Tiruppattūr 179/1936		The residents who took a new their residence - ¼ panam

(7) Tax on profession or processing

Sērmādēvi 673, 674/1916		Dēvadiyār Irai (levy on dāncing girls)
Tirunelvēli 47/1927		Ālvari (capita levy)
Giriyambālpuram 455/1916		Tariyirai (Tax on looms) Sekkirai (Tax on oil gunnies)

Name of Place Ref. (1)	Name of levy. (2)	It import. (3)
		Taṭṭārpāṭṭom (on carpenters stone masons) Iḍaiyanvari - On shepherd Inavari (as a class of persons) (All included in Sūṭṭirai-3 Accu) inclusive of Kuḷavari for tank maintenance and Ponvari (in cash / or for minting coins)
Seṅgikuḷam 258/1941		Mīnvari (for fishing in tanks) Uvaccavari (on pipers) Dēvaḍiyārvari (on dancing girls) Tarivari (on looms) Taṭṭanpāttom (The lease rental on carpenters or stone merchants)
V. Kārukuṟiccі 529/1916		Toḻil taccu - fee for carpentry in kind)
Tiruvālīśvaram 359/1916		Sembaḍavari (on fishermen)
Madurai SII IV/373-369		Tari irai (on looms) Sekkiṟai (on oilmongers) Taṭṭolippāṭṭom (Carpenters) Tattārpāṭṭom (Goldsmiths?) Inavari (on a class) Iḍaivari (shepperd) Vaṇṇār kāśu (on washermen on the stone used)
Tirumōhūr S 155/1905		Kaitta[illegible]kaḍamai (on looms)

Name of Place Ref. (1)	*Name of levy.* (2)	*It import.* (3)
Āttūr 429-30/930		Inavari - Śūṭṭiṟai - ½ accu. (for class of people or caste) Inavari (per class of persons or caste) Āḷvari (per capita) Vaṇṇārakkāśu.
Tiruppattūr 165/1936		Tax on Iḍaiyar (shepherds, Paraiyan, Paḷḷavar (on Scheduled castes/ Cultivators)
Sannavanam 27/1916		Paraimai (Tax as Paṟaiyan) or free services demanded of them.
Cōḻapuram SII XIV/221		24 manai allotted to weavers - Tax fixed levy of 10 paṇam for loom per month - No limit on looms
Tiruppullāṇi SII VIII/396		Shepherd made over to Tiruppullāṇi temple with the seal (insignia) Iḍaivari on shepherds remitted.
Tirumalai 21/1924		King transfers to temple the tax levies he could collect from Paḷḷar Paṟaiyar per head
Ambāsamudram 310/1916		The Aḍavimār of Vallakuricci a Dēvadāna to pay per loom 2 paṇams worker - ½ paṇam on taking residence on the land allocted
Kuṟṟālam 426/1917		Śekkiṟai oil gunnies 12 Nāḻi of oil per year (1 nāḻi per month)

Name of Place Ref. (1)	*Name of levy.* (2)	*It import.* (3)
Kīḷakkaliṅgal gal 324/1918		Śekkaiṛai - Māttāl Dramam ¼
Giriyambālpuram 455/1916		Mis. levises all inclusive Sūṭṭiṛai 3 accu includes Śekkiṛai
Singikuḷam 258/1941		Śekkiṛai
Kaḍayanallur 643/1917		1 Śekku - Iṛai 2 paṇam
Kīḷakkaliṅgal 324/1918		Śekkiṛai - Māttāl Dramam ¼
MADURAI DT.		
Paravai 136/1951-52		Śekkiṛai pāṭṭam
Madurai SII IV/373 SII IV/369		Śekkiṛai
	(8) Others (not classified)	
Āttūr 430/1993		Śiṛukarai (?)
Siṅgikuḷam 258/1941		Mīnvari (levy on fishery - rentals)
Tiruvālīśvaram 359/1916		Mūngilvari (levy or bamboos) Kaṇḍōn vari (?) Nadanta vari (?)

Name of Place Ref. (1)	*Name of levy.* (2)	*It import.* (3)
Madurai SII IV/373-369		Māvadi fee (for cattle penning) kuḷavadai (Fee on tank Fisheries Taṭṭiṟai (?) Koṟṟilakkai. (Food and shelter per servants) oḷugumīnpāttam (fee for fishing) Pāśippāttam (fee for fishing) Monanpāṭṭam (?) Siṟaivaccu (?)
Tirumōhūr Ś5/1905		Māvaḍai Maravaḍai (fee on tree-fields Pon 36 Kaṟavaikkāṇi (on milk cow uḷvari pāśivilai (fisheries Ērivari (fee for tank maintenance)
Aḷagarkōil 8/1931-32 326/1930		Vāsalurimai (dues at King's gate) Puāavadai (Services outside the Township limits for its benefit) Mōnappāṭṭam Tirikaiśūlam (For handmills? or on potters?)
Aḷagarkōil 308/1930		Mōnampāṭṭam (?)
Paḷani 301/1955-56		Puḷudikkāśu (?) cash levy on dry cultivation Nittappaccai (?) Āyam
Tirumālugandānkōṭṭai 42, 43/1831-32		Kūṭṭaccu Monampattom (?) Kaḷugukolli (?)

Name of Place Ref. (1)	*Name of levy.* (2)	*It import.* (3)
Kāḷaiyārkōil SII VIII/173-174		Peruvari (main tax)
Tiruppattūr 128/1948		Kīḻvārappaccai - The green crop share payable by undertenants)
Tirukōṣṭiyūr 288, 289/1923		Kuṟaiaruppu (making good the shortfall in remittance by a distributed levy) ceremonial homage to palace - TNS
Tirukōṣṭiyūr 283/1923		Kaṟṟōkari (?)
Sannavanam 27/1916		Taḍikkuṟuṇi (Kuṟuṇi per Taḍi field)
Ilayāttakuḍi 17/1926 (AD 1221)		Māḍakkāśu (on storyed buildings)
Ilayattakuḍi 18/1926		Piḷḷaivari (Birth-tax ?) Tax payable to princes TNS SITI p. 1466.
Cōḻapuram SII XXVI/523		Vaṇṇakkakūli Taravukkūli (Payment on receipts).

(iii) Community levies

We have had occasion to notice how distinct constituents of the community, like the soldiery, the merchants and the *Nāṭṭār* or the *Ūrār* or the Brahmadēyas had voluntarily contributed a portion of the land-yield from their respective shares or had taken on themselves a levy on the goods traded in by them. The Mahāsabhās of Koḍānūr and Suttamalli contributed on their own a share of the produce for services to a new deity set up in Tirunelvēli.

We now notice some more of such voluntary levies which the community or its different sections resolved to contribute.

In Tirumalai (sivagaṅgāi Tk) an interesting inscription dated 17th Mār. Sundara I (AD 1233) records the prasaśti of Tiśaiāyirattu aññūṟṟuvar of Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam Peruneravi, Dēśivallava peruneravi, Ēṟu śāttu Iraṅgu śāttu Kōḷikkuṟicci Kaḍikai Tāvaḷam . . . . . . Vaḍakaḷavaḷināṭṭu Kaḷaṅkāṅgaḷilum Tirukkōṭṭiyūr Maṇiambalam, Vēmbattūr Ten . . . . . Vāraṇavāśipperunderu) . . . . . of paṭṭaṇam of Malaimaṇḍalam. Aḷagaimānagari, met in the Tirumalai temple on the hillock in the Tirukkāvaṇam called Aññūṟṟuvar. They made levies on the commodities being marketted in Aḷagaimānagari and its surrounding place as below :

. . . .		Pudukkāśu 20
Sandalwood-1 bundle		Pudukkāśu 20
Thread 1 Podi		5 Pudukkāśu
. . . .		3 Kāśu
Paddy		
Rice		
Pulses (Payaṟu)		
Salt and all other measurable commodities		3 Kāśu
Jaggery or gur	-	By Jayaṅgoṇḍa cōḷa marakkāl

If the commodities arrived by a handy, per handy (Kuṟu)ṇi by the Jayaṅgoṇḍa cōḷa marakkāl

Thread	-	head load	-	2 Pudukkāśu
Betelnut	-	per podi	-	1/2 Kāśu
Paśumpai	-	(?)	-	1 Pudukkāśu
Karpūram, Kastūri and (other commodities)Palasarakku, valsarakku				as herebefore (munnilai)

The amount shall be got collected from lthe owners of the commodities - loads who agreed to collect the dues.

In the 4th year of Mār. Kulaśēkhara (AD 1272) the *Ūrār* of Karaiceri in Amudagunavaḷanāḍu granted ½ *mā* of wet lands, the Kaḍamai on which was assigned by them for a waking-up ceremony in the temple. They also assigned as Piḷḷayār-āyam the proceeds of the levies on the goods arriving through the three routes converging at the township at the following rates :

For those carried in carriage (Sāṭṭukku)	¼ paṇam
For those carried on the back of draught-bulls (podi)	$^{1}/_{20}$ paṇam
For head-loads	uḷakku of the commodity

These were in addition to the Kaḍamai on the land assigned[2].

A practice in vogue was to charge a cess or a levy on the Prasādam (the food offerings) which were delivered to devotees or to assigness. A garden to supply flowers to the deity at Attāḷanallūr was to be tended by some non-brahmin vaiṣṇavas (*tādar*) and they were to be supplied 2 nāḷi rice, without levying any Prasāda vari[3]. This was in the 9th year of Mār. Kulaśēkhara. In fact. Prasādam (food offerings) was made a usufructuary mortgage of in return for a capital amount contributed by an ascetic. (*Jeer*)[4]

The *Ūrār* of Marudana nambi kurucci agreed to contribute Padakku paddy per *mā* on lands coming to yield in the *Kār, Piśānam,* in their village for providing for the food offerings to the deity Śīvallavanmaṅgalam (*Kīḻappāṭṭam*) in *Kīḻkaḷakūṟṟam* This was in A.D. 1291[5].

Ten year later, the Kammāḷar of Kṣatriyaśīkhāmaṇipuram artisans or smiths granted per year 10 kalams 1 *tūṇi*, 1 *padakku* of paddy by the 6 *nāḷi* measure for the festival to the Goddess, Umaiyāṇḍar installed in Nagēśvaram Udaiyārs temple.

If they defaulted they could be impounded and uncircled and their earthern ware could be destroyed and brass or copper vessels confiscated and the levy could be collected by force[6]. A late example of AD 1477 is the contribution of $1^{1}/_{16}$ *kōṭṭai* per *mā* per year for both *Kār* and *piśānam* on all lands with standing crops in all the command of Rājarāja Cm agreed upon by the *Mahāsabhā, Ūrār* and the Nagarattār and the residents and Brahmins and 4 Nāḍus and 'savanaparikalam' all measuring together in Tirunelvēli[7].

A fragment of an inscription in Nallamaṟam (Tirumaṅgalam Tk.) dated in the reign of Mār. Sundara I appears to assign the proceeds of a communal levy in all grain measured and weighed from the yield of occupied holdings[8].

An apartment (aruvarai) named Sundarapāṇḍyan was constructed in the 18th year of Mār. Sundara (1?). The King ordered the tax-proceeds of Milalai vayal and Kōṭṭivayal payable by the Maravar. Idayar, Vaḷayar and other occupants and cultivators for the purpose[9]. Though this was a royal grant, the different sections of the community was involved in the addition to the temple.

In the 36th year (AD 1303-4) the repairs and maintainance (Tiruppaṇi) of the temple of Vikramapāṇḍīśvaramuḍaiya nāyanār at Cōḷapuram in Ānmānāḍu was undertaken. To meet the expenditure the ūrār and the Kāraṇavans of several adjoining townships or hamlets Kaṇṇuḍaipērūr, Muḍivaḷangupāṇḍyan ūr. Kunṟattūr Eraṇḍu śōllāttān sēturāmakurucci, Sāmanta kaṇḍan Vīraśinganallūr, Pāṇḍya Dēvakurucci agreed among themselves as follows :

They agreed to contribute to the temple 1/8 *paṇam Kāṇi* per price of saree or cloth (*Puḍavai*) sold by them. Those who came from without Coḷapuram and sold cloth within shall also pay 1/80 paṇam per piece (uru onṟukku)[10]

Later examples from the 14th century onwards could be cited in corroboration. In AD 1374 the *Nāṭṭār* met at Tiruppullāṇi in the Kāṇgēyan Tirumaṇḍapam and resolved as follows :

The different communities within the nāḍu shall pay a levy at the following rates for a mid-day, śandhi (uccisandi)

Brahmins	per head	1 paṇam
Veḷḷāḷar	per head	1 paṇam
Ceṭṭis	per head	1 paṇam
Tapaśigal	per head	1 paṇam
Kaikkōḷar	per head	1 paṇam
Veḷḷān piḷḷai Iḍaiyar Kanmār	per head	½ paṇam
Sāṇṟār Sāṇār & other castes	per head	½ paṇam

These shall be collected by the Temple servants (*Tiruvelaikkāran*) in the same manner as the dues to the king were being collected every year and in case of default, the defaulters shall be obstructed (*Marittu*) and payment taken.

An even later instance of such levy is from Hanumanthakuḍi dated Ś 1455 (A.D. 1533). This was a grant in favour of the . . . temple of Māḷuvanāyakar in Jīvēndramangalam in Muttūṟṟukkūṟṟam. The cultivators and occupants were to contribute ¼ *paṇam* (per head) and others inclusive of paṟaiyars ¼ paṇam.

The last two instances cited indicate the relative contributors among the several sections of the community and their respective capacity to bear the community levy.

The instances brought out that despite the wide spread incidence of taxes and levies, public charities and endowment for temple renovation or services invoked sufficient public response. The different sections of community bore such common levies demanded of them by the collective will of the townships.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VIII

A note on the modes of land measurement and assessment in the Pāṇḍyan Townships.

The cultivated wet lands in the Pāṇḍyan Townships had been surveyed in what we may now term as the '*Khasra*' method or in oḷugu form. It was based on the location of fields. The lay out of the fields, especially wet lands, under the different sources of irrigation, canal or tank, sluice and then blocking and the numbering of fields have all been described in an earlier chapter.

In the appendix, the modalities of survey and assessment and their inter-connection are examined. The survey of fields and parcels of holdings were carried out to the minutest (even below 1 cent) detail. Roughly one parcel (Taḍi, śey) seems to have been 1 *mā* in extent.[1] This survey had proceeded usually in a contiquous manner according to the location of the fields. The seed beds where seedings had to be raised with well water or first freshes in the canal were surrounded by field-charnels, sometimes, on all the four sides.[2]

The measurement pole (*Kōl*) varied in length from place to place and time to time. This has been already brought out in Table V of the Chapter. For instance, in the time of Jat. Kulaśēkhara the *Kōl* Kuḍitāṅgi was the scale of measurement of lands. The exact length of that pole has been marked on the temple wall at Kōvanūr in the Subrahmaṇya temple.[3]

One peculiar modality of granting relief in assessment of land dues adopted in the tract was to vary the standard scale of measurement to the advantage of the occupant, or the tenants. The standard grain measure for paddy was also varied likewise. Even if the rate of assessment was not revised on account of the changes in the content of the measurements and their value-equation the reluctant reduction in real terms was a relief that benefitted the occupants. The tender of the cash in coinage was also likewise varied in its accu-dramam nexus. Examples have been cited in the following chapter deeling with the modes of relief for the hardship experienced in land-dues demand.

This note brings out specifically another characteristic of land surveys and assessment. The linear measurement and the area were converted into a *maḍakku mā*. The term "*maḍakku*" or "*maḍippu*" has to be interpreted in terms of the assessment rates (*Taram*) that the different lands bore.

The following are examples of the usage of this terms and what it conveyed.

Kīlaḍi[4] (Madurai dt.)

Vēli $^{1}/_{20}$ or a mā (33 cents) - Maḍakku nilam $^{3}/_{80}$

Palliaccandai[5] (Madurai dt.)

Vēli $^{1}/_{20}$ or 1 mā - Maḍakku nilam $^{3}/_{80}$

Kallidaikkuṟicci[6] (Tirunelvēli dt.)

1 veli 2 mā mukkāni . . Kāṇi arai

. . . . (gap in the inscription) Kāṇi = $^{3}/_{160}$

Tolaivillimaṅgalam[7] (Tirunelvēli dt.)

Pādagam	Area extent	(Tulā) equal Maḍakku nilam
1.	2 mā	1 mā
2.	2 mā	1 mā
	2 mā	
3.	4 mā	
4.	3½ mā	
5.	(balance) 2 mā	1 mā
Under 5th channel.		
1.	2½ mā	$^{1}/_{16}$
2.	2 mā, mukkāṇi	$^{3}/_{80}$ + 1½ mā
	1 mā	½ mā
	2 mā	1½ mā $^{1}/_{80}$
Under 6th channel.		
1.	2 mā	
	2 mā, 3 Kāni, ½ mā	
	½ Kāni, or $^{5}/_{160}$	Kāni mundrikai $^{5}/_{320}$

East of cōḻakōl vāykkal (L22)		(NA)	$^{3}/_{80}$
Under	Pāḍagam	Extent	Maḍakku

First channel	1	3 mā		1½ mā
	2	1 mā, $^{3}/_{80}$ mā		
Under 2nd channel	1	1 mā and		
		Kāṇi araikkāṇi		$^{3}/_{160}$
		($^{3}/_{160}$)		
		1 mā mukkāṇi		3 Kāṇi + ½ Kāṇi
		($^{7}/_{80}$)		($^{7}/_{160}$)
		$^{1}/_{16}$	=	$^{5}/_{160}$
Turivēngaḍavayakkal		$^{7}/_{80}$	=	$^{7}/_{160}$
Tattōḷvasakkal nilam		$^{1}/_{16}$	=	$^{5}/_{160}$
Kāḷaiyārkōil[8]		3 mā	=	1½ mā (Maḍippu)
Seyduṅganallūr[9]		Virivukāni	=	½ kāsu mundrikai
		$^{1}/_{80}$	=	($^{1}/_{160}$ + $^{3}/_{320}$)

It will be seen that, generally, the rates of the extent by linear measurement to the maḍakku works out at 1 : 1½ or 1 : 1¾. But there are several variations. Unless we get at the rate of assessment and its gradation (Taram) of the lands it will be difficult to interpret equation.

A second peculiarity thrown up by the inscription from Tolaivillimaṅgalam has to be noted. In several pāḍayams (blocks) the total extent of the field is given. The equivalent maḍakku (Tulā-maḍakku nilam) therein, however, is given for a part of the parcel of land (or *ippāḍagattu* or *idil*) therein and not for the whole extent of the parcels in the respective *pāḍagam*. Presumably only portions of fields were transferred and not the whole.

The boundaries of the lands endowed are given (1 32 ff). The western boundary has gaps in the transcript. The southern boundary was the river Tāmbraparaṇi (Muḍikoṇḍa Cōḷappēraṟu). The eastern boundary - Uttama cōḷanallūr. Northern boundary - The canal running on the boundary of Uttama cōḷanallūr. The Mahāsabhā proceeds in add that the tiḍal (high level lands or mounds) and *Kuḷi* (the low lying pits) lying within these lands shall be reclaimed by the assignees or the temple authorities. It could be inferred therefrom that the percels of lands listed were not all reclaimed and readily cultivable. Portions of lands actually cultivated had their *tarams* and the *maḍakku* extent is given therefor. The Mahāsabhā's stipulation that the other mounds and pits shall be levelled and reclaimed could refer to the lands not actually under cultivation in every *pāḍagam*.

To sum up this part of the evidence.

(1) the liner or area measurement of lands varies from the madakku mā.

(2) there is a definite but varying relationship between the two. For eg. 1 : ½ or 1 : ¾ in the Tolaivillimangalam inscription.

(3) The *Madakku* extent can be relatable to the area actually cultivated and assessed only. Conversely the lands to be reclaimed are not assigned the *madakku* extent as their Taram was not yet determined.

(4) It will be necessary to identify if the extent given in every case refers to the area measurement (*virivu* or *parappu*) or the *madakku* while working out the rate-extent correlation.The system needed and depended on a cadastral survey of lands, adopting the traverse or field location, the area as measured by the rod or pole in use and the classification of lands actually cultivated and assignment of Taram rates of assessment and finally this last was converted into *madakku mā.*

The *Taram* assessment fixed was not itself the demand. There are several peculiarities in fixing the land demand which are described below.

The cadastral survey of the occupied holdings gives the area measurement. But the assessment of the actual land-demand was not on the entire extent of the holding. The graded system of levy also had a crop-wise rate fixed on the crop growth (*variśai*). Examples are given in Table IV above.

In applying the graded system of levy, the actual extent of the land cultivated, where the crops had struck roots (*Payir nūṟa*) and had come to yield (vilainda nilam) were measured by the standard pole stipulated. The crop was inspected and the yield determined (*Payir pārttu, Pulli pukka nilam*). The extent actually come to yield so measured, was applied the rate of assessment.

Care was taken to exclude the extent on which the crops did not come to yield or had withered due to drought and scarcity of water supply and sometimes even due to man-made causes like destruction of crops[10] (*Pāḻ sāvi nīkki payir niranilam*)[11]

Even if the levy was a fixed lease amount, if the yield could not sustain the levy fixed, the amount due was revised on inscription and assessment of crops on ground.[12] There are cases to the contrary, where the rates fixed were unalterable, whether the lands yielded or not.[13] If it was a coconut grove, lands coming to yield into which the ladder and the basket were taken or if a paddy field, where the sickle and the hayrope (to tie up the bundle of the paddy for threshing) were taken were alone assessed.[14]

It follows the process of survey of lands that had come to yield, the extent to be assessed so determined the superintendance of the crop grown and determination of the quantum of yield and the nature of the crop, whether baling was resorted to, all needed the services of executives (*Kannies*) Superintending accountants (*Kaṇkāṇi kaṇakku*) and accountants for crop yield estimation (Puḷḷi kaṇakku).

The term "*Puḷḷi*" "*Puḷḷi kaṇakku*" denotes the crop were in yield and the accountants could enter the field, take a typical stock of paddy and count the number of grains therein and workout the "*mēni*" or the yield estimate and its quantum. This "*mēni*" came to be transformed into an "*anna-crop*" nexus in *armish* done under the British administration. 16 as crop being equal to "*alavan mēni*" (full yield).[15]

The accountants were deployed by the Township and perhaps were drawn from the local land-occupants themselves. Their wages and food (eccoṟu) were to the account of the occupants collectively, except in cases where the beneficiaries were permitted to employ their own accountants for such services[16]

In sharing the yield the payment of the *Kaḍamai* to the *Jīvitamdar* was to the exclusive account of the mēlvāramdār and the cultivator's share was to be given to him in tact.[17] The grain to be measured to the Superintendent of the thrashing and measuring the yield will be to the account of both the melvarain-holder and the cultivators.[18]

Lands for which the Kaḍamai obligations were taken over by the *Sabhā* or remitted under orders of the King need not be inspected at the time of the assessment of the yield and crop conditions.[19]

The stipulations ensured assessment strictly on yield and an equitable exclusion of lands not yielding or damaged due to acts of God and man and nature. At the same time the quantum of dues should be in grain, excluding the grain loss, and mere husk and other extraneous matter like pebbles, rubbish, sprouted grains, or other wastage. Such rejects will also need to be compensated. The grains due was to be measured at the courtyard of the temple and the transport was to the account of the occupant.

The *Kistbandi* or the months when the delivery of land levies like *Kaḍamai* are due synchronise with the post-harvest period. In some cases the month of Citrai (April-May) for the *pisānam* and *Aṛpasi* (October-November) for the *Kuṟuvai* or *Kār* had been stipulated. In a later case (of A.D. 1542) the delivery and payments could be spread over a period. 60% to be paid from Tai Āni (January to June-July) and the remaining 40% to be paid from Ādi (July-August) to Mārgaḻi (December-January).[20]

A system so intricate, requiring varied services of executives whose subjective inspection and judgement of crops was the basis for assessment of every individual field or part-field come to yield could have lent itself to occasional irregularities or malpractices. But there were inherent correctives. The executives were themselves resident occupants who had a homogenecity of interest. The localised spread of the lands, and the vigil of the community could have acted as safeguards, against possible miscarriage of equity and justice. The King's men were also on the watch and so too the collective moral authority of the Township to whom the aggrieved can always resort for remedy.

FOOT NOTES TO APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VIII :

1. For eg. 396/1930 -
   Āttūr : Rājarāja I. Some examples have been cited already.
2. Ibid
3. 48 / 1926
4. 448 / 1906
5. A.R.E. 741/1919 : (AD 1290)
6. 319/1916
7. Unnumbered / 1984-85
8. SII VIII / 181
9. 366 / 1959-60
10. A Sērmādēvi inscription (614/1916) of Rājēndra I adds that if there was loss of crops due to men of force (Val:yān kēḍu) or failure of monsoon (Māna kēḍu) the lands not yielding shall be excluded from assessment.
11. Aḷagarkōil 315/1930.
    Confer : Mūvaraivenṛān 37 / 46-47
    Also Aruppukkōṭṭai : 409, 410 / 1914
12. 35 / 1931-32 Nayinārkōil
    358 / 1961-62 Tirumāṇikkam
13. Aḷagarkōil : 308 / 1930
    Tirumāluganḍānkōṭṭai 38 . 39 / 1931-32
14. Tirukōṣṭiyūr 288 / 289/1923
    Tirumāṇikkam 358 / 1961-62
15. It may be of interest to quote the experience of an early Collector of Tirunelvēli, R. Peter who felt that the out sturn of paddy was generally under estimated resulting in the loss of revenue to Government. This was due to the Amāni systam (direct cultivation under the Government and the land revenue paid in kind or out of the produce.) It led to many corrupt practices.

Peter, therefore, introduced a system of crop estimation which was said to be prevalent in olden days. also Peter described the system in the following words : (1826) :

"It had hither been usual with the public servants to form estimates of the produce when the crops have been reported ripe and fit (or the sickle by which frequent delays occured detrimental to the ryots both in reaping and dividing the crops. It was represented to me by the Head Tahsildar that if a mode which prevailed many years agc were adopted it might prove equally beneficial to the Circar and to the ryot and as it also appeared that it would lesson the interference of the Circar servants with the ryot I resolved the experiment should be tried.

"The made adopted was this. The Circar servants were directed in company with the inhabitants and watchers to gather the produce as soon as ripe and in conformity with the previous orders. A number of straw ropes measuring 8 feet in length were prepared and furnished, and the grain (i.e. plants with grain) when cut was bound up with them into bundles which after being examined and counted by the servants two of them were taken for each description of land and thrashed, the produce noted down and the average taken which formed the basis for calculating the estimated produce. Afterwards, should there be time, the whole of the bundles were thrashed; if not they were heaped up on the established thrashing floor and stamps put uponthem. They were then on the next day or as soon after as possible thrashed and the produce divided.

"The advantage derivable from this made of realsing the crops are :

(i) Rendering the interference of the public servants and the cultivators much less.

(ii) The crops are cut immediately when ripe without waiting for a monegar to estimate the produce which must cause considerable delay.

(iii) The crops are divided much more specially and of course with much less to the inhabitance.

(iv) There is less time or room for theft.

(v) A more correct estimate of the produce must be formed by actual measurement of a pertion of the crops than by merely estimating them when on the ground.

[Agricultural Development in Madras State to 1900 - R. Ratnam; pp. 62-63 source Tirunelvēli Collectrate records].

This method adopted by Peter has features similar to the system described above in vogue in the Pāṇḍyan times.

16. Confer : "Puravu variyār payir pārkkum kalan iruppāl urilē eraṭtu parisarippōmākavum" in 312/1949-50. Sālaigrāmam. - On the beneficiaries themselves arranging for inscription. Piḷḷaiyārpaṭṭi 153/1936. Also 263/1941 : Siṅgikuḷam - The Thānattār could inspect and levy at the rates prevailing for the surrounding lands.

17. 171/1936 - Tiruppattūr

18. 66/1916 Tirukkaḷakkuḍi

19. 311/1949-50 Sālaigrāmam

20. 65/1916 - Tirukkaḷakkuḍi

CHAPTER IX

DISTRESS CONDITIONS AND THE HARDSHIPS OF THE TOWNSHIPS AND THE RELIEF AFFORDED

The rigours of land levies and the hardships caused by the collective obligation to have them gathered and remitted to the King's coffers are borne out by ample evidence, from all over the tract. But the distress was pronounced in the dry uplands and rainfed areas of Ramanathapuram district. Although the spread of the evidence of such hardship extends over the entire period of the study. If we may generalise from the intensity and repetitiveness of the evidence, it was particularly felt in the reigns of Mār. Sundara I (AD 1216-1239) and Mār. Kulaśēkhara I (AD 1268 to 1311). The reign of Mār. Sundara I was marked by the constant conflict between the Cōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas. There were more than one campaign undertaken. The Hōyśalas intervened in this warfare sometimes on the Pāṇḍyan side and at other times on the Cōḷa side, depending on who was strong or weak. They had also exacted tribute from the Pāṇḍyas and inscriptional evidence attests their exactions[1] and disorder that broke out during their intervention. Mār. Kulaśēkhara I had a long rule, but he entrusted different parts of the Kingdom whid enveloped the Cōḷa country also, to his brothers. There were hence five rulers instead of one. The severe exactions of these princes and the consequent depopulation of villages is attested. The drain on the Treasury due to horse trade and the increase in the levies of taxes and land dues is also attested by foreign notices and by inscriptional evidence.

We may now notice specific instances of hardships that have come to notice from the parts of the Kingdom.

An Inscription in Śēndamaṅgalam[2] (near Āttūr, Tiruccendūr taluk) relates that the people in the township could not reside and render the land obligations and hence to discharge their collective obligation in the Township, sold lands to the temple in the reign of Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha (AD 1090 to 1116). The Mahāsabhayār of the same place. Āṟṟūr Śēndamaṅgalam sold 2½ vēli of land to the Kailāsamuḍaiyār temple in the 12th year of that reign (AD 1102). These lands had belonged to various Brahmin occupants, inclusive of the following :

Sōlai Nārāyaṇan - 4 *mā*

Nārāyaṇan Tirukkuliṅgu - 10 *mā*

Subrahmaṇyan Cakrapāṇi - 10 *mā*

Tiruvāykulamuḍaiyān . . . .

Tiruvikraman - 7 *mā*

Nārāyaṇan Vāsudēvan - 6½ *mā*

Dēvan Cakrapāṇi - 4 *mā*

The Circumstances under which the lands of many occupants were sold are no set out in the inscription. If one guess, surely, the Mahāsabhā would not have resorted to such a sale unless it was for discharging their collective obligation of payment of land dues to the king.[3]

The Mahāsabhā of Kulaśēkhara Cm. (Tirunelvēli) in the 14th year of Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara (AD 1204) sold 4½ *mā* of land to a Chieftain Kulaśēkhara Kāḍuveṭṭigaḷ for 9 *accu* for providing for a service instituted in the name of his brother, Kaṇḍiyadēvar. This amount was paid off to the four erstwhile occupants. (*Munbu paṟṟu ninṟa*)[4]

In the third year of Māṟ. Sundara I (A.D. 1219) a change in the tenure of lands had occurred. Śrīparāntakanallūr was a Dēvadāna of the deity at Kōṭṭaikaruṅguḷam. The wet, dry black soil, the house site, the unoccupied house-site waste, and other lands on which there was no occupancy, or on which the *Kaḍamai* and *Kuḍimai* obligations were left in default were all sold with Kārāṇmai rights to 12 Brahmin Bhaṭṭas "learned in śāstras and Vēdās" and named as Rājasinhēśvara Cm. The newly inducted Brahmins had to pay the *Kaḍamai* obligations to the temple.[5]

Ten years later, (A.D. 1229) even the distributed levies due to the Sabhaiyār of Pārāntakā Cm in Ārināḍu could not be met by the temple treasury for want of each. The temple authorities had sold 1/3 of the lands under their tank to one Pralayāntankan residing in Kulaśēkharapperunderu and he paid the amount to discharge the sabhāviniyōgam. In addition the soldiery in Dārukāpuram also were in need. The same vendee took the usufructary mortgage of the cultivating rights from them in two parcels of land from the Paḍaiyār and the Tantirattār paying them collectively 13 *accu* and 4½ *accu* and 150 *kalams* of paddy. The lands in his enjoyment were added to the temple properties and from the yield food offerings were provided to the deity and the goddess and Kṣētrapālar.[6]

Two years later (A.D. 1231) the Sabhaiyār of Dēvēndravallabha Cm, a new name the Township had acquired after the Pāṇḍyan restoration it was earlier in Kulōttuṅga I time (A.D. 1054) known as Cōḷēndrasiṅga Cm[7] sold land for payment of *Kaḍamai* dues of the Mahāsabhā.[8]

A fragment of an inscription from Vānaramuṭṭi refers to the distress and default of some occupants who fled the village. Their lands were sold and the sale was regularised and recognised with the approval of the chief who had established his authority in

the village.[8A]

Tirukkōlūr (near Ālvārtirunagari) in Tiruvaludīnādu had also experienced distress in the reign of Mār. Sundara. The Mahāsabhā had received an epistle to pay the dues and as the Cōlapāndīśvaramudaiya nāyanār had no means to pay the kadamai this temple authorities sold the land, presumably to pay up their dues (A.D. 1236).[8B]

Still their difficulties did not end. 13 years later (A.D. 1249) in the reign of Mār. Sundara II the *Ūrār* of Purangurucci had felt the stress of a high lease amount and the occupants and cultivators deserted the place and the lands were lying waste.[8C]

Even the Sabhaiyār of Rājarāja Cm, the populous township had felt scarcity of funds (in the 3rd year of a King whose name is not available when they waited on the King, and borrowed from the temple 20 *accu* to pay the Revenue Chief, (Tandal mudaliār) Rāsingapanman for Ariśittēvai and akkattundam. They sold a house-site ostensibly to recover cash and repay the amount borrowed from the temple. As many as 65 signatories - the Brahmin residents - signed the sale deed.[9]

In the 4th year of Vīra Pandya the Sabhaiyār of Avaniśīkhara Cm sold land to one Ravi Śrīkantan of Mahōdayarpatnam in Malar mandapam who had visited the place. In that year the *Kār* crop was lost and there was no yield for the *Kārtigai Salābham* dues they borrowed 50 *kalams*. They agreed to take on the obligation to repay the 50 *kalams* on the entire ayacut. But they sold land on condition that the purchaser would deliver 100 *kalams* of paddy, half and half in the two crops. The township had sold their capital asset for meeting the revenue demand and had made the former productive of the latter.[10]

Four inscriptions of the reign of Mār. Kulaśēkhara I are of interest. They bring out the straitened circumstances in which the *Ūrār* of Kārakuricci alias Vikramapāndyanallūr had borrowed. or made a usufructary mortgage of their lands repeatedly. They had no capital to repay the borrowed amounts. One of the borrowals was for the purchase of *Kār* seeds and manure unable to pay manure the amounts and redeem the mortgage the *Ūrār* sold lands to the temple and from the proceeds reoaid the borrowed amounts and redeemed the mortgage. Three of the inscriptions are dated in the 8th year of Mār. Kulaśēkhara I (AD 1274)[11] and the data for one inscription is lost:[12] from the reference to a Tantrikanakku[13] it could be inferred that the lands were held by soldiery.

The first was a sale for 3230 panam against which 1000 panam borrowed from one Vikramapāndya Cōlakkōnār and interest @ 6 *mā* i.e. 300 panam added, made a total of 1300 panam which was set off.

The second sale was of a garden and cultivated land ½ *kāṇi* for 60 paṇam. Here again a portion was on usufructory mortgage which was redeemed by payment of 20 paṇam to the same individual Vikramaraṇḍya Cōḷakkōnār.[14]

The third sale was for Danapālakuḷigai paṇam 928. There was a prior encumbrance of a usufructary mortgage to Vānarayan and Śūlapāṇi Pillai presumably of 200 paṇam. Secundry they had borrowed 728 paṇam for the expenses during the *Kār* crop season in the 8th Year.[15]

The fourth inscription makes it clear that the expenses during the *Kār* season in that year were to pay the land dues to the King upto the *Kār* of the 8th year which they had borrowed and paid 768 paṇam to Rāmāṇḍār who was apportioning the lands occupied in that township.[16]

These data clearly establish how in the reign of Māṟ. Kulaśēkhara I the *Ūrār,* presumably the soldiery-occupants had no resources of their own even to pay the *Kaḍamai* dues during Kār on to meet cultivation expenses and were heavily in debt. They sold lands because the King's dues had to be paid and they could secure the capital only by the sale of these lands collectively held.

As already noticed in an earlier chapter the soldiery occupants seem to be chronically in want and frequent usufructary mortgage of their cultivating rights or the land.

We may finally notice a sale of land with all appurtenances for over 45000 (pon) with all dues payable to the ruler by the Tiruvaḍi Chieftain-Udayamārtāṇḍavarma of Jayatuṅga Nādu to Śinna Timma dēva Mahārāja, the Vijayanagar Chieftain deputed by Rāmarāya in AD 1547-48. This might have been a form of surrender of land to the conquering general of Vijayanagar by the Tiruvaḍi Chief.[17]

Distress conditions in the upland of the Madurai district are evidenced by some of the inscriptions in Mēlūr and Tirumaṅgalam Taluks. A thirteenth century inscription in Vāñjinagar (Mēlūr Taluk) dated in the 7th year of Sundara Pāṇḍya records that the *Ūrār* of Adhikaram in Surabi nāḍu sold lands to one Vaḷudi nārāyaṇadēvar one of the Agaparivāra Mudaliyār of Muṟukal Kuṉṟam in Āṇmarai Nāḍu. The *Ūrār* could not pay up that part of the land demand falling due in the month of Āvaṇi to their Chief Amaṇadēvar, who had the village and also the specific requisitioned (*Vēṇdukōḷ*) levies which he had distributed among the townships. As the rains were insufficient, and as the Chief's men caused hardships to the occupants and they were without any means of redressal the *Ūrār* had sold the lands with *Kārāṇmai* right to the vendee for Rasipanam 400 and *kaḍamai* and *antarāyam* were to be paid by him to the Temple. Having received this amount the *Ūrār* paid the demand of the Chieftain's officers (Pēraḷar).[18]

The *Ūrār* of Andanarkudi in Pūṅgā Nāḍu sold land to one Viranārāyaṇan as they had no resources with them to pay the demand.[19]

In the 22nd year of the Pāṇḍya (unidentified) the Kārāṇavar of Sundarapāṇḍya nallūr relinquished to the temple occupancy lands as they were unable to cultivate and pay the stipulated dues.[20]

In this tract too, in about AD 1310 (42nd year of Mār. Kulaśēkhara) the temple authorities and revenue officials sold land to several invividuals - one (kūru) share to 6 individuals from several nāḍus, Pāganūr Kūṟṟam, Tenkallaga nāḍu, Pūnganāḍu. Śengudi and another share to eight other individuals, and half share each to two more individuals. The circumstances under which thus sale was made are set out clear terms. The determined land demand upto the 41st year (AD 1309) not be paid for want of resources. There were no occupants who stood forth to pay up the demands in their name, and the (Irai) land demand could not be cleared. But was pressure by the King's officials) to either sell or make a usutructury mortgage of lands. Hence they sold some lands and also they encumbered the prespective yield from some portions of the land from the 43rd year in some others.

The available evidence of distress is perhaps, the largest from the rainfed or dry belts of the Ramanathapuram district and even from some of the townships in the Vaigai belt.

Cōḷapuram in Srivilliputtūr taluk is on the border of Kōvilpaṭṭi taluk in Tirunelvēli district. It dates back to he times of Jat. Śrīvallabha (AD 1090 to 1116). But the temple and the township Sundara pāṇḍya Cm must have been set up much earlier. In AD 1094, the Prince Sundara Pāṇḍya on the supplication of Sundara Pandya Cm granted Tiruccālūr, Amaṇputtūr, Koṇḍaiyanēri in Tuḍaiyanūr Muṭṭam in Veṇbaikkuḍi Nāḍu.[21] Also Upanayana maṅgalam in the same Nāḍu and another village (Veḷḷai Kuṇṟattūr sic for Veḷḷaiyaṟai nallūr) in Aṇmā Nāḍu were granted.

The villages were constituted in that year into a Dēvadāna Brahmadēya. That is, the Brahmin occupants enjoyed the produce from the lands therein, but subject to payment of Kaḍamai and other dues to the Viṣṇu temple there.

Over the years, because of drought, and the burder of land dues (Durbhikṣam and Karabhā day) the original Brahmin occupants left the place. The tanks become defunct, and were laid waste. Their ayacut was covered by shrub jungle. The Pūja services in the temple were handicapped and discontinued.

The Sabhaiyār of Uttamacōḷa Cm recalled the AD 1094 grant made in the time of the elder grandfather of the ruling prince and the epistle of the younger grand father conveying the original grant of Sundarapandya Cm. The Sabhaiyār occupants

at this later date, supplicated Uttamacōḷapperiyār for a regrant of the villages, viz., Veḷḷaiyaraiṉallūr alias Dānmapārāyaṇappēreri in Āṇmā Nāḍu and the three villages in Tuḍaiyanūrmuṭṭam and Upanayanamaṅgalam to be reconstituted with the name of Uṭṭama Cōḷa Cm and settle 20 Brahmins so that the tanks may be repaired and reexcavated and the lands may be reclaimed and brought under cultivation. Viradamuḍittaperumāḷ recommended the grant to the ruling prince and it was granted. The settled Brahmins were allowed to have the same rights as in the original grant and to pay the *Kaḍamai* according to the ancient custom. This was dated 13th year, 1109 the day of a ruler whose name is not available.[22]

The point of interest in this case in the present context is within three generations the original settlers had abandoned the lands on account of drought and times and also the hardship and the burden of the land dues. The resettlement however, does not disclose any let up in the rates of land dues the Brahmin resettlers had to beat.

Even earlier, in the 20th year of Cōḷan Talaikoṇḍa Vīra Pāṇḍya (about AD 966) the Sabhā of Śalaigrāmam in Tuvvūrkkuṟṟam alias Mahimākara Vaḷanāḍu had received a demand from the King camping at Tiruppālaiyūr for 900 *Kāśu* and to realise it, he had ordered the resumption of Tirukkulungaḷūr but the resumption was not implemented. To clear the cash demand and for a portion of their requirement (Kārya Vīśam) the Sabhā of Śālaigrāmam took over the ornaments and Tirupaṭṭam or Tiruvaṭṭam of the deity in their village worth 100 Īḻakkāśu. Against the value of the ornaments so taken over the Sabhā remitted (*Iṟai*) the taxes due from the deity on 35 pāḍagam of land.[23]

The inherent hardship caused by the high levels and incident of taxation under various heads, aggravated by natural calamities, failure of monsoon and crop loss was further compound by political episodes in the reign of Māṟ. Sundara, powerful ruler he was and yet he could not arrest the Hoysāḷa intervention and their heavy exactions. We have clear evidence of how the Townships exposed to such exactions, had to somehow, ferret out cash and grain to stave off the threat of pillage and plunder that the Hoysāḷas held out as the Domocles sword over the tract and the people.

In AD 1236, (20th year of Māṟ. Sundara I) the *Ūrār* of Iḷayāṅguḍi alias Indrāvadara nallūr in Vaḍavallattirukkai resolved as follows. They had, earlier reduced the distributed cash levies to half and the other half was being collected from the temple. From the 21st year (1237) they decided to remit the remaining half of the distributed levy on the deity's Iṟaiyili lands, and the crops therefrom both in cash and in paddy, and the lands were excluded as "Kuḍinīṅgal". The total extent of the lands to which this concession applied was 2 *mā* and $\frac{17}{5120}$ *mā*.

In lieu of this concession, they collected at 2 *accu* per *mā* from the temple, cash totalling 4½ *accu* and ¼

The particulars of the receipt of this amount from the temple by the *Ūrār* are of great interest. In the month of Āni (June-July the executive of Mahāpradāni Bhogakandnāyakkar and his men came from other parts of the country, and in order not to pillage and plunder the cultivating and occupant population they demanded cash. To stave off this threat of plunder, the *Ūrār* borrowed from the temple $4\frac{1}{8}$ accu and paid it to the Kannadigas. Hence they totally remitted the *Ūr viniyōga accu* and paddy on this extent of 2 *mā* and $\frac{17}{5120}$ *mā*. In addition they decided to collect at of ½ the *Ūr Viniyōga* rates in cash from the remening Dēvadāna lands[21]

In the very next year (AD 1237) in the month of simha (August-September) on a full moon day, the Mahāsabhā of Śalaigrāmam, and the Pannai śeyvār and vēli seyvār sold a land to the temple Srīvaragunaīsvaramudaiyār. The details of the transactions reveal that one of the reasons for sale was that they were hard-present to collectively bear the proportionate levy imposed on the Township to a Dandanāyaka who demanded it during the Hoysāla disturbance (Pōśalanār Kalagam). A share of that levy was assigned to a few Brahmin occupants but they had not discharged their obligation and had deserted the village. Hence, it fell to the Township to bear this shortfall.[22]

The transactions reveals that even otherwise the Mahāsabhā was wanting in liquidity and the Hoysāla exaction was on aggravating factor. The Mahāsabhā sold Ponniyēmbal tank, housesites and the ayacut. The price was 77½ *accu*, and 1 ... 7 against which several earlier mortgages to the deity made by the Sabhaiyār were set off from the time of one VīraPāndya (18th year) and also in the 12th year of Kulasēkhara Dēvar (AD 1202). In addition during the Hoysāla disturbances, to pay off the general, a levy was imposed on the residents and was distributed among the occupants. A few of them, Manalūr Vīranārāyanan, Ādanūr Vīrattirumālirunjolai Narāyanan and others and one Purusothaman did not stand forth and pay their apportioned dues and deserted the village. The Mahāsabhaiyār were hence asked to pay up the amount defaulted by them and were taken to Rājasingamangalam unable to bear the belabouring they were subjected to the Mahāsabhaiyār sold 2 *mā* of the land held by the successers of the deserted residents to the temple, and secured the ornaments of the deity, and deposited the amount due into the Collection pot (ivargal pēril Kadamaikku Kudigal ittamayil) or coffers for Kadamai arrears in the name of the defaulters.

But the successors in title appealed to the King, and it was ordered their lands mortgaged be redeemed, and their enjoyment share be restored to them. On receipt

of the epistle through the King's emissaries, to comply with the order and release the lands a fresh account of receipt was drawn up as below :-

(i) amount due to the temple for the mortgage amount and interest thereon: 21¼ Kaḷañju equal to old Ānai accu $10^5/_8$ This gives the nexus of 1 old anai accu equals 2 Kaḷañju of gold.

(ii) The mortgaged lands in which the Deity did not take the produce and the Kaḍamai was paid $2^7/_8$ accu.

(iii) the mortgage amount on lands mortgaged to Tiruppālanāyanūr 6 accu interest $7^4/_5$ accu.

(iv) For meeting the expenses on the royal epistle and its despatch (Thirumukha sampādam) the amount borrowed : 1 accu in all 22 accu and 6 mā.

The account was receipted and the land was sold.

The inferences that follow from the details of the transaction are :-

(1) The Brahmin township of Śālaigrāmam was hard-pressed to pay the Kaḍamai dues and the levies made to stave off the Hoysāḷa exactions and plunder.

(2) They sold the lands in their collective enjoyment and possession.

(3) As a few Brahmin individuals defaulted in their apportioned share of the levy, their lands were mortgaged by the Mahāsabhā. But the successors in title of the defaulters invoked the royal authority and got the mortgage of their lands by the township Mahāsabhā to the deity annulled.

(4) The Mahāsabhā was obliged to find the money, by selling the deity's ornaments and otherwise receiving the cash in accu.

(5) Against the amount so received they sold their lands to the deity.

(6) They took care to see that for the lands the yield of which was not enjoyed by the deity the Township paid the Kaḍamai.

It is also of interest to note that the Mahāsabhā borrowed even 1 accu to meet the incidental expenses for the royal epistle and command received.

In the result, the Township converted its capital assets to pay the revenue dues. This gives a very graphic account of the difficulties experienced even by a favoured class of occupants the Brahmadēyas.

Even later evidence is forthcoming on their distress from Ilayāṅguḍi. In the 11th year of Jaṭ. Sundara the Sthānattār of Rājēndra Cōḷīsvaramuḍaiya Nāyanār gave an undertaking. The previous year was one of total drought and loss of crop. (Kṣēmamāi Vingiccarem paḍiyānapaḍiyāle) some ornaments of the deity were taken out and sold. So in the Citrai month of the 11th year the *Ūrār* the King's servants and Māhēsvarās joined together and insisted on the Sthanattār to restore the ornaments. Hence the latter approached Śīrkāḷi Vēndar and requested a grant of cash as a donation and they got 100 paṇam. Against this amount and against the interest proceeds the Sthānattār agreed to burn a lamp before the deity.[26]

The impact of the Hoysāḷa exaction was felt not only in Śālaigrāmam and Ilayāṅguḍi but also in the uplands of Tiruppattūr. About the same time in the 21st year of Mār. Sundara (I) (AD 1237) the Mahāsabhā of Nṛpaśēkhara caturvēdimaṅgalam, a Brahmadēya in Kēraḷaśingavaḷanāḍu met in the Big street in the middle of the township in the month of Mīnam (March-April) and resolved to remit the taxes due from the lands held in the name of Caṇḍīsvara in the temple of Rudrakōṭīśvara nāyanār of the place. The Hoysāḷās had demanded cash from the Pāṇḍya ruler (ulaguḍaiya perumāḷ). The King had distributed the Hoysāḷā exaction among the nāḍus. The Chieftain Vāṇakōvaraiyar remitted the gold to the King's treasury on that account equal to the apportioned gold demand on this Brahmadēya. Apparently the Chieftain had advanced the cash in gold on behalf of the township and had agreed to take it later at harvest time from the occupants.

Unfortunately, in that year the crops did not yield and there was scarcity. Such drought conditions were common in the red uplands of Rāmanāthapuram when the north east monsoon failed. Hence, the ornments of the deity were borrowed equal to 75 Kaḷānjus (which should have been treated as a capital deposit, the interest from which was adequate to pay the land dues), the Mahāsabhā themselves took over the obligation of land dues on 7½ *mā* of Dēvadāna land on which the temple had hither to paid the land dues.[27]

In the 9th year of Jaṭ. Sundara the *Ūrār* of Śākkalūr in Perumbūnāḍu sold lands at Uṟṟiyūr on which the earlier occupant could not pay land dues and also another land ½ *mā* in extent for which also the occupant defaulted in payment of the dues.[28]

As already noticed the distress was acute during the long reign of Mār. Kulaśēkhara I (AD 1268 to 1311). Several cases of defaults by occupants and deserting of villages have come to notice.

In the 16th year (AD 1284) one occupant Śēnāvaraiyar had deserted the village without paying the land dues. The King's executives insisted on the *Ūrār* of Iraṇiyūr to pay up the demand. As the *Ūrār* had no other means of clearing the arrears they

sold some other holdings of the defaulter to a matha. The land was granted as Iraiyili to the defaulter by the Ēlagattār.[29]

In the 25th year of Jat. Vīra Pāndya in Iraniyūr in a feud between two individuals the Chief Mālvarāyan had ordered that until he enquired into the feud they shall not take the law into their own hands. But despite their giving an undertaking the delinquents fled the village. The Chief's men demand a fine for their disobedience to the command. They obstructed the *Ūrār* in Ponnamarāvati demanding that the surety amount in the deed executed by the delinquents shall be paid. On the suggestion of the Vilāṅgudi *Ūrār* they paid a major portion of 850 panam. They had no other resources for the balance of 170 panam. They sold the lands of the delinquents to the deity and made a sale for 170 new Guligai panam which they remitted to the King's men.[30]

The Śrīrudra māhēśvarar of Vēlaṅgudi had also been in dire need and unable to pay up the demands on them they add the Dēvadāna lands. This was in AD 1293.[31]

In the 8th year of King Kulaśēkhara the Ūrār of Śāikkalūr sold the land to the deity as they had no resources. The immutable land-dues had been fixed. But for lack of resources ¼ of the land dues not be paid on demand from the King's Chieftain Adigaimān. Hence they sold the land which was in their collective holding but which was waste and the tank had breached and the ayacut was in shrub jungle. This was sold as Iraiyili Kārāṇmai. The ornaments of the deity were sold, and the amount of 200 panam was remitted through the temple executives to Adigaimān.[32]

In AD 1275, as the crops did not yield, in the month of Tai (January-February) the food offerings the deity could not be made. Hence the pattom among the ornaments of the deity was pledge and the service were continued. But the Ūrār were insisted upon to restore the pattom. Hence they got cash from Tambirān Tōlan, a merchant from Aruviyūr and restored it. for the cash received the Ūrār sold a land to be reclaimed by the vendee and utilised for maintaining a garden (nandavanam) endowed by him.[33]

In AD 1284 in Ilayāttākudi a merchant from Madurai had a holding; the Kadamai therefrom was payable to the deity. But the occupant failed to pay the Kadamai and the *Ūrār* sold the land to the Visnu temple in the name of Senapati ālvār (Visvaksēna) and revived the payment of Kadamai to the temple.[34]

Tirukkalakkudi, Pirānmalai, Kunnakkudi, Vēlaṅngudi and Uñjanai bring out the distress during the reign of Mār. Kulaśēkhara I and even thereafter.

In AD 1290, the Viraiyāccilai *Ūrār*, a cantonment Township in Kāra nādu were demanded by the Pāndya Chieftain, Tirunelvēli udaiyār 4000 panam for the current and previous year's taxes. Tirunelvēli Udaiyār had overrun the tract, and had authority

over it. the township could not bear this levy and "were dying", sold their cattle, and mortgaged their assets and yet there was a balance for which they could not muster resources. None could give even 3 *kalams* per paṇam nor land not cash or paddy. Yet there was no let up in the duress by Tirunelvēli Udaiyār. They sold in public auction an ayacut purchased from Kumāttāgudi Ūrār to Tirukkaḷakkudi temple. This was a typical instance of the princes and Chieftains who exacted levies totally beyond the capacity of the residents to bear in the reign of Mār. Kulaśēkhara.[35] Similarly the Nattanēri, which the Viraiyāccilai *Ūrār* had purchased from Kumāttāgudi was sold to the Tirukkaḷakkudi temple, as the Kumāttāgudi *Ūrār* refused to buy back the ayacut.[36]

The *Ūrār* of Śēvūr were distressed and the Chiefs and the *Ūrār* sold in public auction their occupied holdings in Māṅgudi in the 3rd year of Vīrapāṇḍya.[37] In the 31st year of Mār. Vīrapāṇḍya the temple authorities of Tirukkaḷakkudi sold the *Kāṇiyāṭci*. In one of the dēvadāna lands of the deity one Mudiyan Naraśinga dēvar had occupancy. There was no heir or successor to him. The Muslim invation under Malik Kafur had ravaged the country and left destruction and distress behind. The dēvadāna lands had to tbe rehabilitated (AD 1311-12) Kampaṇa Udaiyār vanquished the Muslims and restored order and the three servieces in the temples and regulated the temple affairs through the Nāyakan Chiefs who were to supervise and conduct the affairs.[38]

The distress conditions in Tirukkaḷakkudi persisted even later in the Vijayanagara times. The village was deserted the residents had fled the place. No new occupants took up residence and there was none to induct new occupants. Here two persons from Kūdalūr were invited and invested with Pādikāval rights and Uttama nāyakan who was Tammaya nāyakar's executive was to have the authority over the township.[39]

This is a typical description of the deterioration in the social and economic conditions and distress in Pāṇḍdyan Township towards the end of the 13th and beginning of the 14th century.[40] We may now notice the conditions in a few more townships in the northern parts of the tract under study after Mār. Kulaśēkhara's time

During the reign of Rājarāja Sundarapāndya, Muḷḷikkuṇḍu an endowment to the deity at Kunnakkudi had become depopulated due to certain riots and political disturbance. Hence the temple authorities sold the land to a purchaser as Kudinīngākkāni.[41] In the 13th year of the reign, the *Ūrār* of Iraṇiyūr lamented that the executives of Kāṅgēyan the Chief had demanded cash and caused much hardship. As they had no resources the *Ūrār* sold lands to one Nallamaṅgaipiḷḷaiyār and others.[42]

In the same year, the sthānattār of Māḷavacakravartīśvaramudaiyān of Uñjanai sold Dēvadāna lands in the village Cōḷan Kudikkādu alias Kavinakaranallūr. The earlier enjoyer Mādan Śivalingapperumāḷ alias Kaṅgēyapiccar and Tirumēniaḷagiyān who had

held the land on lease had failed to fulfil the Kaḍamai obligation and they had no resources and even the fine levied for the lapse remained unpaid.[43]

In the 18th year a levy on Vijayālāyadēvan (presumably of Viraiyāccilai the Sūraikkuḍi Chief had been made of 740 paṇams of which 140 paṇams were paid on hand in cash by the *Ūrār* of Ilayāttākuḍi. The balance of 600 paṇam was not paid on the due dates. Hence according to the undertaking given they added an amount of 300 paṇams i.e. 50% more. They were under duress to pay up the balance and *Ūrār* of Ilayāttākuḍi had no other resuorses to fall back upon. They hence sold a number of fields consisting of 8 parcels and another 7 parcels. In all 15 to two individuals of Vēḷanluḍi, Vīrapērayar and Iruṅgōḷpur. The vendees had to pay an immutable levy of 4 *kalams* per year in paddy and Rāsipaṇam 4. (perhaps per *mā*) to the Uttara pādēsvaramuḍaiya nāyanār of Vēlaṅguḍi. This was in the 14th year of Rājarāja Sundara Pāṇḍya.[44]

These transactions of the time of Rājarājan Sundarapāṇḍya may be ascribed to the later half of the 14th Century.

We may notice, finally, a transaction dated in the 10th year of Jāṭ. Parākrama who is not identified. The inscription has been ascribed to the 14th-15th century. Annadēvamaṅgalam alias Kūḍalūr was a Brahmadēya in Tenkōnāḍu. The Sabhaiyār lamented that they could not pay the Kaḍamai dues for the 9th regnal year. The *Nāḍu*, *Nagaram* and the *Gramās* in Tenkōnāḍu allowed the Sabhaiyār to sell their lands as they desired. At the same time executives of the *jīvitam* holder, Māḷava cakravarti oppressed them to pay up the portion of the demand for the village. The Brahmin holders had no mean to pay up the demand. They announced for sale one half of the Brahmadēya Aññūṟṟuvamaṅgalam remitting the taxes and Kāval. In response one Kāraiyūr Kiḷavan Dēvan who had earlier purchased the other half of the same village agreed to buy the remaining half for 150 Kuḷigai paṇam as Kuḍinīṅgā dēvadānam. 40 Rāsi paṇam was deposited for a lamp service. No other demands were to be made on the vendee-occupant.[45]

To sum up, there is ample evidence to show that the level and incidence of land-dues were exacting under the "Pāṇḍyas of the Second Empire". The miscellaneous levies and obligations had only aggravated the hardship. Two reign stand out, particularly when the distress was brought to the surface - those of Mār. Sundara I (1216-1239) and Mār. Kulaśēkhara II (1268 to 1311). This factor could be easily accounted for.

Mār. Sundara I waged a relentless war against the Cōḷa Kulōttuṅga III and his hapless successor, Rājarāja III. The first campaign was about the 2nd, 3rd year (1218-9). The second was the latter half of the reign of Mār. Sundara I. This war and the extensive preparations should have demanded mustering resources, and also drained the king's Treasury. The local Chieftains and the lessees too had levied their own

discretionery levies. The billetting of soldiery, the services demanded from the villagers and other needs should have added to the service obligations of the occupants. Above all, the Hoysāḷa intervention twice in favour of the Cōḷas their march towards Rāmēśvaram their demand for ransom to desist from plundering the villages as at Iḷayāṅguḍi, Śālaigrāmam and in Tiruppattūr should have compounded the sufferings of the occupants and cultivators.

The long reign of Mār. Kulaśēkhara was marked by much lavishness which struck the foreign travellers like Marco Polo. The horse trade was a drain on the treasury. The fondness for Arab horses was matched only by the utter carelessness in maintaining them in a hot tract which took a heavy toll of the horses. Wasaf refers to the tax on the dancing girls (Dēvaraḍiyārvari) and the temple jewellery and funds being utilised for paying in gold, the Arab merchants. Indeed the Pāṇḍyan love of horses was so reckless that they even agreed to pay to the Arab merchants for the horses that died enroute if only they brought the tail of the dead horses. Surely this should have given room for considerable "horse-trading" and fraud. The payment was in gold and it should have caused a constant drain.[46]

Added to this factor, the King as he was getting older was leaving the affairs of the Kingdom in the hands of his brothers, other scions of the royal family and the chieftains. They added discretionery levies and without due regard to the welfare of the people and the Kingdom made ruthtess levies and exaction. Indeed in an inscription at Vālikaṇḍapuram[47] the people heaved a sigh of relief when the King's brother who had made severe exactions was withdrawn and by way of gratitude they instituted a lamp service for the merit of the King and his health.

In the late 13th and early 14th century there was a shift in the mode of fixing demand from detailed survey of the lands cultivated and coming to yield determine that yield and applying the various rates in vouge, more to a fixed lumpsum amount. Also latterly the demand in cash, in gold (pon) and that in a lumpsum is evidenced the more which was to be paid fixed dates instead of the collection of land demand being synchronised with the crop yields in Aṟpasi and in Citrai earlier. The changed modality would have obliged the occupants to sell paddy early when the ruling prices could be lower and thus to lose at both ends.

After Mār. Kulaśēkhara's reign this sons quarrelled among themselves and the political confusion and Malik Kafur's raid and his loot of treasure added to the sufferings. Temples were ruined, especially in Tiruppattūr area and services were discontinued and villages got depopulated. It was giver to some of the Pāṇḍya princes like Vikrama Pāṇḍya and Kampana Uḍaiyār to launch a process of rehabilitation of the temples and the countryside. But they were only catalysts. The Nāṭṭār and the

community bestirred themselves to reclaim lands, reconstruct tanks and induct cultivations and pationtly recover from the economic ills of over a century.

The evidence we have mustered are from a species of townships the eleemosynary tenure. Admittedly they hard been extended concessional treatment. And yet the temples and the Brahmins were not able to pay the demand. If that were so, the fully assessed cultivator townships should have had a greater share of the burden. Indeed this fact is well attested though by the indirect evidence of the agricultural townships bemoaning their distress and their inadequate resources. They had hardly any reserves to fall back upon.[48] At best they could collect adhoc amounts for specific purposes as the Tiruppattūr Mahāsabhā did when they resolved to wait on the King at Madurai.[48A & 49] Otherwise, the yearly collections of dues had to be remitted then and there and there was hardly any carry over Revenue recovery measures were exacting and led to even physical hardships inflicted on the Mahāsabhā constituents or other township organisations.

The only remedy that they could and did resert to was to sell communal lands and convert their capital assets into yielding assets. But this was to pay off revenue obligations. The saving feature was the sale price of the land perse may be disproportionately low but the deposit component (Iṟai dravyam) for payment of land dues from the interest accruals was high. The townships could invest such amounts in productive avenues, like reclamation of land and restoration of irrigation sources.

The progressive induction of occupants could also have had the effect of the revenue bearing lands increasing and to that extent the collective obligation of the townships could have been reduced. Assets which had been dead had become yielding. The increase in production, extension of irrigation and restoration of tanks, reclamation of lands were other lasting benefits to the economy which offset the diminution of Township's collective capital assets.

It should not be understood that while the never fiscal burden was experienced by the community and they were groaning there was no relief forthcoming from the rulers or the Chieftains. Indeed relief was afforded by rulers like Jāṭ. Kulaśēkhara I and Māṟ. Sundara I himself. In addition the Chiefs who held large territories as *Jīvitam* also realising that the unhindered cultivation of lands was vital for their well-being carded for the occupants and gave tangible relief.

If the stress and strain due to the land levies was acute in the Tiruppattūr, Sivaganga region so was the relief afforded in these tract were pronounced. But the other areas in Vaigai and Tāmbraparaṇi basin were not neglected.

In the following pages an attempt is made to recount the relief measures afforded and the modalities of relief in these tracts.

RELIEF AFFORDED TO THE OCCUPANTS AND THE MODES ADOPTED

The relief afforded by Mār. Sundara Pāṇḍya I is very explicity brought out in Tirunelvēli. The occupants' holdings had been asseted at 8 Taram rates. The royal officers had varied the mode of assessment from *madakku* to *virivu.*[49] This has caused hardship apparently. In the 11th year (AD 1227) Mār. Sundara I restored the assessment from the occupants of the Brahmadēya at the old rates, cancelling the orders of his officers.[50] Two years later, he further ordered that the land dues from the Brahmadēya be followed up in 3 Tarams instead of eight. The effect of this change could be to bring down the average (simple or weighted) rate of compounded assessment and its incidence. This was in AD 1229.[51]

Again, in Kōḍānūr in the 7th year of the ruler (not named head) it was specifically ordered that except Kaḍamai and antarāyam all other levies like Veṭṭippāttam, Pañjupīli, Sāndi vigrahappēru, Ponvari were all remitted. Besides the King wrote to the Mahāsabhā that they shall also remit the Sabhāviniyōgam (the distributed levies collected by the Sabhā) on these lands. Accordingly the Mahāsabhā implemented the order.[52]

Even more significant is the communication of Kaṇḍiya Dēvan to the Sabhaiyār of Kōḍānūr (Kulaśēkhara Cm) conveying the King's order in a letter that except the *Kaḍamai* and antarāyam on the lands enjoyed by the Viṣṇu temple of the township with *Kārāṇmai* rights, all other taxes like Ponvari (cash levy in gold) shall be remitted. The latter signficantly added that when at the pleasure of the King such a direction (*niyōga*) was issued and is inforce there shall be no new levies and innovations. (*Tirumugamum, niyōgamum undāyirukka ippōdu śila pudumaigaḷ seyyakkadavārkaḷalla*) The Mahāsabhā was enjoined to implement the orders and issue their proceedings accordingly.[53] In the 2(1)[st] year of Mār. Sundara I Māramaṅgalam had been granted as *jīvitam* to the Śōnagar.[54] When they were collecting the assigned revenues they interfered with and disturbed the schedule of assessment rates and attend the land levies (*Taram Kulaithu .... Taṇḍinārāgayum*) this has caused hardship. On this being taken to the notice of the King i.e. he ordered the restoration of the old rates at which land dues were collected (*Paṇḍu iṛuttu vanda Taram*). The inscription also gives the different rates for the different tarams, the first and fourth etc.

This order seems to convey the rates of levies for the different tarams at 5 *kalam*, 2 *Tūṇi*, Padakku, 2 *Nāḷi* and 7 *kalam*, 2 *Tūṇi Kuṛuṇi*, 4 nāli cash 6½ *mā*, mundirigai and for the (third Taram?) including cash 4 *Kalam* paddy. The rates shall be applied to the crop on ground, and on the extent where the crops had struck roots and come to yield.[55]

In Tirukkōḷūr the *Ūrār* of Pūṟankuṟicci felt difficulties in the mode of land levy in vogue. The villagers had a lease-demand, which was presumbly a fixed amount. Consequently, the occupants and the cultivators, unable to bear the levy, deserted the place and lands were laid waste. A change in the mode of the land levy was called for. In AD 1249 during the reign of Māṟ. Sundara II this was effected. From that year, all Dēvadāna and paḷḷiccandam lands had to be excluded. Other lands held in accupancy were to be measured by the 18 Śān. Vīrapāṇḍyan rod, the yield in lands cultivated on inscription, was to be determined. On such lands yielding the following rates of assessment shall be applied for *kaḍamai* and antarāyam from the 11th year.

For *kār* : 6 $^{81}/_{160}$ *kāśu* per *mā.* and paddy (*mudal*) 4 *kalams* by the Vīrapāṇḍyan measure for lands brought to yield by baling - ½ thereof Ginragu, Tinai, Sāmai - 1 Dramam (16 *mēni*) per *mā.* For dry lands per *mā* : ¼ dramam.

An emdorsement that year let this schedule of rates be paid was added by the revenue officials.[56]

The Tirukkōḷūr instance distinctly bring out the disadvantages of a oṭṭu system - of lease on a fixed quantum of dues. For one thing, the lessee might exact more than what was due to the King. for another he might vary the rates at his discretion; Besides even when the groom yielded less, if the demand he bad to meet was inelastic he would transfer the rigidity of demand to the cultivators - occupants. Even if there was no external Lessee and the township was itself enjoyed to pay the lease-Kaḍamai this last adverse factor would persist. Lastly, the margin left for the occupants and the cultivators would be so low that they would not be enthused to cultivate the lands and bear cultivation expenses and apply labour.

The Variśai rates substituted enabled direct payment to the King Treasury. It was on actual assessment of the yield and on the measured extent of lands coming to yield. The rates too were varied according to the crop grown and accorded with the scale more widely prevalent. It was hence definitely a more equitable arrangment.

In Āttūr (Tiruccendūr Tk) too a series of inscriptions bring out that despite flood and drought conditions the immutable Kaḍamai (Vāḍākkaḍamai) was payble and it had worked to the disadvantage of the occupant - cultivators. Prior to the 13th year (perhaps of Māṟ. Sundara II) except the paddy for Salābam, no other levy was enforced. Kēśava Daṇḍanāyaka (a Hoysāḷa) imposed a levy in gold (pon). This innovation was presumably to ward off the pillage and plunder as noticed in Ilayāṅgudi and Śāligrāmam and Caturvēdimaṅgalam.

From the 13th year, the king issued an epistle conveying to the Kuḍanāṭṭār that the levies payable in gold (Ponvari shall be discontinued forthwith, Cēdiyarāyan

accordingly issued the communication and implemented the order. The status-quo-ante of the grain levy for salābam was restored.[57]

The Brahmadēya occupants of the Vaigai belt had a distinct advantage. Proximity to the capital and the Palace enabled them to address the King for redressal of any legitimate grievances. The Sabhaiyār of Cōḷāntaka Cm who waited on Jāṭ. Śrīvallabha and not removed the new weir constructed by a Sarvakruttukkaḷ with the King's permission is an instance in point. Proximity enabled them to participate in any sacrification or at the time of the coronation of the King. These were cermonial occasions when special concessions and grants were made by the King. Such concessions being repetitive in nature the concessions could also get enlarged from reign to reign.

In the 2nd year of Jāṭ. Kulaśēkhara the King on the recommendation of Ayyan Māḷavarāyan made a Dharmadāna to the Brahmins of Cōḷākulāntaka Cm (Coḷavandan).[58]

Upto the 22nd year (of the previous reign) the Sabhaiyār had paid Viniyōgam per mā as below :

Main crop	Dramam 4 Paddy 6 Kalams
Kuṟuvai on yielding lands	Dramam $1^3/_5$

Paddy 4 kalam Tūṇi, Padakku or 4½ Kalams. From the 2nd year of Jāṭ. Kulaśēkhara I (A.D. 1192) he ordered the Viniyōgam rates at :

Main crop	Dramam 2 Paddy 3 Kalam	50% of the previous rate
Kuṟuvai On yielding lands	Dramam (¼ + 1/20 16/20) or 4/5 Paddy 2 Kalams 3 Kuṟuṇi	50% of the previous rate

These (onasoions) were progressively enlarged in the reigns of Māṟ. Sundara I and his successor Māṟ. Sundara II.

In 1218-19 as recommended by his brother-in-law Aḷagapperumaḷ, Māṟ. Sundara I reduced the rates of Viniyōgam as below:[59]

Upto the 27th year (of previous reign) AD 1217 the sabhaiyār of Cōḷāntaka Cm paid Viniyogam at :

(Concession from the 2nd year of Māṟ. Sundara I net)

Main crop Paddy 8 *kalam* per *mā* To be less by 2 Kalams 6 Kalams

	Dramam 5	To be less by 1 Dramam	4 Dramam
For Kuṟuvai	Dramam 2	To be less by 2/5 Dramam	1 3/5 Dramam
	Paddy 6 Kalams	To be less by 1½ Kalams	4½ Kalams

In the 2nd year of Māṟ. Sundara II (A.D. 1240) two more concessions were extended to the same Sabhaiyār. First, the Sabhaiyār had paid *Mākkalam* (1 *kalam* of paddy per *mā*) both with main crop and in Kuṟuvai. This was totally dispensed with main crop and in Kuṟuvai. This was totally dispensed with as Dharmadāna at time of his coronation by the King at the instance of Ayyan Maḷavarāyan.[60] At the same time the king Māṟ. Sundara II granted the following concession in the rates of *Viniyōgam* paid by the Sabhaiyār of the same Brahmadēya upto the 2nd year:

Rates in force:

Main crop	Dramam 2
	Paddy 3 Kalams
Kuṟuvai	(perumdramam) 4/5
	Paddy 2 Kalams 3 Kuṟuṇi

It may be recalled that these were the rates ordered by Jat. Kulaśēkhara I in AD 1192.

Ayyan Maḷavarāyan recommended that these *viniyogam* levies shall be totally dispensed with. This was ordered accordingly in A.D. 1240.

In the 13th year, 150th day (AD 1203-4) of Jāṭ. Kulaśēkhara the King made a yagñadāna, at the time of a sacrifice reducing the rates of levy for Kuṟuvai.[61]

Hither to the rates were :

Per mā	3 Dramam
	8 Kalams paddy
Reduction : from the 14th year	1½ Dramam
	2 Kalam 3 Kuṟuṇi
Net payable	1½ Dramam
	5 Kal. 2 Tūṇi 1 Kuṟuṇi .

Again, in the reign of Māṟ. Sundara II it was noticed that the Iṟai paid by Tiruvēḍagam occupants was inflated (*Iṟuttu Vanda Iṟai ataippu unḍdenṟum*) and that the rates in vogue shall be revised and the lands in Tiruveḍagam shall be charged

at same rates at which the Cōḷākulāntaka Cm occupants paid the land dues. Further the cultivated lands coming to yield shall be measured by Vikramapāṇḍyan kōl and the yielding lands shall be changed 2 Dramam per *mā* and Paddy at the same rates in vogue in Cōḷakulāntaka Cm. Presumbaly this was ordered accordingly.[62]

For one thing, townships in close proximity could clamour for concessions if the rates in the neighbouring village were lower. Secondly, the Proximity to the seat of power, the ceremonial occasions and the coronation especially was a jubilant occasion were of avail to grant concessions in land assessment especially to Brahmadēya occupants.

The uplands in Rāmanāthapuram as brought out above, were the most affected. Drought and loss of crops were frequent and the rates of demand were exacting. The collective obligation of townships to pay up the demand was also invoked oftener. It is natural that relief should also be more incessantly called for. Also the evidence of such relief granted is relatable to the areas of distress. What is, however, the most striking are the modes of relief granted. They are somewhat sophisticated and even curdous.

In AD 1232 the Sabhaiyār of Śrīvillipputtūr approached the Chief who was administering Śrīvillipputtūr approached the Chief who was administering Śrīvilliputtūr, Tiruvuḍaiyan Adaiyan Akkiyan Vijayasangadevar to move the King for a tax concession.[63] He submitted the request to his superior Āsiriyan Dēvapiḷḷai alias Kaṇḍiyattēvar Alias Vīra Pāṇḍya Dēvar who endoraed the request to the King Mār. Sundara I. On the citrai Viṣu, the Tamil New Year's day in the 15th year, a memorandum was issued by the King directing Dēvar Kaṇḍyadēvar to have the grant made and consummated by pouring water by the Prince Vikaramapāṇḍyadēvar. Accordingly, the Prince Vikrama Pāṇḍya Dēvar was moved to give to the royal order.

He invited the accredited prepresentatives of the Sabhā Śeruvūr Kiḻārs son, Arēyan Vājapēyāji Sundara Tōḷudaiyān Bhaṭṭan Jyōthiṣhūma Vājapēyāji Āḻvi mūvāgni Bhogyarajiyār and his younger brother Vājapēyajeyār and others and granted by pouring water a Dharmadāna of 1/80 per *mā* as deduction in the land dues. Kaṇḍya Thevar also moved the King to issue the royal epistle and the copy of the oral order. Thus the chief in authority Vijayaśiṅgadēvar had through the good offices of Kaṇḍiya Dēvar caused the reduction in assessment.

The episode brings out how the Sabhaiyār had moved the local chief and made their application through had moved the local chief and made their application through the "proper channel". The Chief was sympathetic and he moved his superior who had the ears of the King. The King's grant was ceremoniously implemented by the Prince Vikrama Pāṇḍya. But Kaṇḍyadēvar ensured the formal order of the King orally conveyed reduced into writing and the concession was given effect. The representatives

of the Sabhaiyār, from their names, were accomplished in Vedic rites, and rituals and capable of performing several sacrifices. The case also shows the influence of the local officers and the Chieftains to accomplish this tax-reduction.

Accordingly, in the 15th year of Mār. Sundara-I and 273rd day (A.D. 1232) the Sabhaiyār of Śrīvilliputtūr met the King in his bed chamber Maḷavarāyan in the Capital seeking orders of reduction in land levies.[64] The King ordered that among the wet lands, black soil, and dry lands, all the tax-free Dēvadāna grants be excluded. These included lands granted as Dēvadāna for the Vadaperuṅkōiludaiyān, Dvārāpatiaḷvār (Kṛṣṇa) Tiruvayōdhi Viṇṇagar āḷvār (Rāma) Śrī vallabha viṇṇagarāḷvār, Śrirāma Viṇṇagarāḷvār and those endowed for Tirukaṟṟalīśvaramuḍaiyān, Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷapperumāḷ and for the paramasvāmi of Tirumāliruñjōlai (Aḷagarkōil) which last was a garden as also all Dharmadana lands. The remaining lands were bearing land dues. In the prevailing rates, measuring lands with the standard rod in use in the township the King granted *Māvīrakāni* as Dharmadhana from the 15th year. That is to say, out of the dues payable per *mā*, 1/80 was remitted and the land dues shall be collected at 3/80 of the existing rate. This works to a reduction of 1¼%. This shall be levied only on yielding lands. This formal communication was made at the instance of Maḷavarāyan.[65]

The same representatives of the the Sabhā made another request nine years later (in AD 1241) to the King Mār. Sundara I to grant as Dēvadāna, the land dues in 2 *vēlies* of land which was in their occupancy and in some other lands in which they had *Kārāṇmai* rights. This was also granted from 20th year (AD 1236) though the order was dated in the 25th year[66].

A Mūvaraivenrān inscription of the 12-13th century dated 8th year of a Pāṇḍya Kulaśēkhara directed the Sabhā of a Brahmadēya (not named) and the occupants who have taken residence and settled there and raised crops to pay 1/8 *accu* per unit of land measured by the periakōl (big pole). The details are lost but from the context it could be inferred that the village was deserted and had to be resettled and a concessional rate of levy was warranted in the rainfed tract. The reference to 'Periakōl' might simply that the measuring red was long on and consequently the rate of levy could have been for a larger extent that the standard rod used elsewhere carrying a concessional element with it.[67]

The extant epigraphs form Sivagaṅgai, Tiruppattūr and Tiruvādānai Taluks give graphic accounts of the concessions extended by the *jīvitam* holders like Kaḷavaḷi nāḍāḷvān or at their instance by the King. It also gives an insight into the modes of relief affordes. In Jat. Śrīvallabha's reign a concession of 25% was extended in Tiruppāccētti to some lands occupied. The rate of levy of 5 *Kalam* ½ *Kāśu* was reduced to 3¼ *Kalam* and $^{3}/_{8}$ *Kāśu*.[68]

In the 19th year of Jāṭ. Kulaśēkhara I (A.D. 1209) the King sent a communication to the Sabhaiyār of Vēmbattūr of Vēmbattūr (Kulaśēkhara Cm) The dues of the Township were calculated hitherto on the extent of land measured by the measuring pole *Kuḍitāṅgi*. The King's grant father (Āppaṭṭar) Kaḷavaḷi Nāḍāḷvar gave them a document of title that the measuring pole shall be increased by ¼ of the length (i.e., 25%) and on that measurement *Kaḍamai* and *antarāyam* shall be calculated. The *jīvitam* holder also requested the King to issue a written communication in terms of his earlier undertaking. The King ordered accordingly, and his written orderes were conveyed by his officers. In effect by this change of the length of the measuring pole, a concession of 25% could have resulted. The rates of levy remained unaltered. But the same rate was applied to a larger extent measured.[69]

Confirming the grant of shares to the Brahmadēya occupants in Vēmbattūr, the King further conceded that earlier the lands to assessed to *Kaḍamai* and *antarāyam* were measured by the 2(4) Śān pole. Now by using the 30 śān kōl, for measuring the lands he allowed a 25% reduction in assessment. The rates of assessment remained the same. But instead of 24x24 or 576 Sq. Śāṇ the same rate was applied to 30x30 or 800 Sq. Sān.[70] Incidentally, it may be added that the measuring pole Kuḍitāṅgi was in vouge even in the time of Jāṭ. Kulaśēkhara it was not introduced in the time of Māṟ. Sundara I as held by some.

Similar concessions were extended in Adaḷaiyūr Nāḍu. The Adaḷaiyūr Nāḍāḷvār in the year of Māṟ. Sundara I (A.D. 1224) intimated the *Nāṭṭār* of the Adaḷaiyūr nāḍu as follows. Several villages in Adaḷaiyūr nāḍu, in the Kiḷkuṇḍāru basin, viz., Tiruārāṟṟaṅgudi, Kōnēri, Tiruīṅgaṟkuḍi, Panaikkuḍi Kuraṭṭi, included, in the nāḍu the pole used for measuring lands was 18 Śāṇ. This was discontinued and the 24 Sān Kuḍitāṅgi was to be used and per *mā* so measured, as hereto for the crops shall be insputed and assessed (*pulli pārttu*) and deducting the areas not coming to yield, those yielding shall be assessed at ¼ of the original rate i.e., at 3 *kalam* 2 *Tūṇi;* the *Kaḍamai* measure reckoning with the difference in measure.[71]

The Kalvāyil Nāḍāḷvān issued a letter in the same year to the same residents and also Pūvālaikkuḍi, substituting 24 Sān measuring pole for 18 feet in vogue hitherto. The Kuditāṅgi land 1 *mā* thus measured, was reduced. The rate per 1 *ma* by the *Kaḍamai* measure was 7 kāl 2 tūṇi and adding wastage, it was revised as 9 *Kāl* 2 *Kuṟuṇi* 4 *Nāḷi* Uri by the Nāḷi measure used by the Nāṭṭār.[72]

The inscriptions of the reign of Māṟ. Sundara I from Pericci Kōil are of greater interest. The first is dated the 9th year (AD 1225) of Māṟ. Sundara I.[73]

The *Ūrār* of Siṟupericciyūr and Kaṇḍrāppūr (Kaṇḍramāṇikkam) felt and complained that the residents had become impoverished and that to desert the village

and live in the forest was better. The Nāḍāḷvān Kaṇḍan Āḷudaiyān Kāṅgēyan gave a deed in the following terms :

The lands in the Townships shall be measured by the Kuḍitāngi pole. For the main crops paddy (lost) and 1¾ Dramam of 5 *mēni* shall be paid. For Aṟpasi kuṟuvai, and citrai kuṟuvai ½ for lands yielded by baling Tinai, Varagu and gingelly ¼. For sugarcane at the same rate as the principal crop. The lands shall be inspected and only yielding lands shall be assessed and measured and waste lands shall be excluded. For *viniyōgam* and miscellaneous levies the lands measured by Kuḍitāṅgi shall be reckoned in terms of maḍakku and the levies spread or distributed and collected at rates in vogue in the Nāḍu.

For lands sold from his own holdings, the measuring red and grain measure shall be as given in the saledeed.

In the 19th year of Sundara Pandya Kaṇḍan Aḷagu Kaṇḍan Perumāḷ alias Kāṅgēyan gave another deed to the urar which is even more interesting.[74] This may also be, perhaps ascribed to Māṟ. Sundara I and II so, dated in AD 1235. The Nāḍāḷvan recognised that the lands separated from their command area were unable to pay the land dues at the rates stipulated earlier. The residents had become distressed and more in an improverised state.

Hence from the 6th year of Sundara Pandya 1 *mā* of land measured by 18 Sān pole was re-measured using 24 Sān pole and the extent recomputed at 4 *mā* mundrikai (9/320). Now on the same basis measuring by kuḍitāṅgi pole (24 Sān) per *mā*, the rates charged were.

Antarayam - ¼ Palaṅkāśu, and appreciating the proporation in Dramam nexus to the *Kāśu* and reckned it as 7 *mā*, or 7/20. To other words the *Kāśu* was devalued.

Paddy measured by Valayilkāl at 6 kalam levied previously was substituted, by the *Ūrkkāl* and 7 *Kāl.* 3 *Kuṟuṇi* by the latter measure was levied for paddy in the main crop, as also for sugarcane, Aṟpasi Kuṟuvai.

If the Aṟpasi kuṟuvai crop came to yield by baling.

The unyielding crops or ring waste shall be excluded, and lands not coming up to yield shall be excluded on inscription.

For the miscellaneous levies due to the Nāḍu as Inavari from the 6th year the quantum shall be determined on the *Maḍakku* extent, and at opting the *Kuḍitāṅgi* measure. It will be seen that the relief afforded was rather curiously worked out. The extent of the land was recomputed substituting a 24 Sāṇ pole for 18 Sāṇ pole. The

nexus of Dramam to Kāśu was appreciated. The capacity and the grain measure was varied, retaining the demand in tract as ready revised in the 6th year of Mār. Sundara Pāṇḍya I.

The *Nāṭṭār* of Kaṟṟaipaṭṭu Pāgaṇēri were intimated in the 7th year of Vīra Pāṇḍya that in the determined levy in gold, ½ was deducted as Iṟaiyili and the remaining shall be collected.[75] In another inscription dated 20th year of a ruler (whose name is not available) from Kallāṅguḍi the Chieftain addressed the Kallāṅguḍi, Dēśinārāyaṇapuram Nagaraṭṭār and several urārs, including Paḷḷattūr, Vaḍakuḍi, that thenceforth as per the rates for collection in the ayacuts of Sāykalūr (Śākkōṭṭai) ½ of the gold (cash) levy was remitted.[76]

In the 17th year of Mār. Kulaśēkhara (A.D. 1285) when there was a rehabilitation of residents in Sannavanam they were granted remission in taxes.[77]

A number of inscriptions of the 11th and 14th centuries grant remissions at a high rate 50% to several *Nāṭṭārs*.

In about the 20th year of Mār. Vikrama Pāṇḍya out of the assessments fixed in the 10th year for the occupants of Uñjanai, Niyamam, Kaḷanivāśal and Ilayātāṅgudi *Ūrār* and others (some names are lost) from the 16th year one half of the dues were deducted and the remaining half was ordered to be paid by them. This was a lumpsum deduction and a sumptuous relief. It also served as a measure of the unbearable levels of land levies at a determined amount (niccayippu) payable in gold.[78]

In the 8th year of Vīra Pāṇḍya the *Nāṭṭār* of Uñjanai ayacut were adviced that the determind amount of levies per year for the Uñjanai nāḍu was 2400 newpon. of this amount 800 pon was deducted and the remaining 1600 pon were payable - ¼ from January to June, and ¼ from July to December. This was a concertainer of $331\frac{1}{38}$ [79]

Another Kōṉērinmaikondān order addressed to the Uñjanai *Nāṭṭār* recalls the earlier determined amount of 2600 new pon. From the 11th year of the reign 400 pon were remitted. The balance of 1200 pon shall be payable in the same proportion in ¼ : ¼ the period January to June and July to December respectively.[80]

From the transaction reviewed above, it will be noticed that the Pāṇḍyan rulers from the time of Jaṭ. Śrīvallabha and Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara I (c. 1190) were sensible of the burden of land levies cast on the occupants and afforded releif. This is equally true of Mār. Sundara I who, despite the costly wars he was waging with the Cōḷan had himself intervented to restore the Status-quo-ante. The King's officers were over-zealous and pitched demands high which could be remedied on being taken to the

notice of the King himself, or through officers and Chieftains who were sympathetic enough to safeguard the interests of the occupants.

But this trend was not equally noticeable in the reign of Māṟ. Kulaśēkhara.[81] His authority shared by his brothers and chiefs was made the instrument of making exactions from the occupants. True, later rulers like Māṟ. Vikrama and Vīra Pāṇḍya granted relief. But there were several changes in the mode of land levy that had occurred. These had the effect of wiping away the inherent safeguards for ensuring equity and affording legitimate relief when the season was unfavourable or where the crop yield has affected or was lost. The changed modality of levy was to fix a determined amount for the Nāḍu as a whole (*niccayippu*). Being predetermined there was no scope for automatic concession for lands which did not yield or which on measurement, could be adjudged as partially yielding, and not capable of bearing the assessment. The earlier mode long in vogue for assessment was per *mā* as the unit. But latterly the *Ūr* as a whole and worse the Nāḍu, as a whole had to bear the levy. This could have led to an uneven distribution of the burden among the *Ūrs* or constituent units of the Nāḍu. Thirdly, the demand was in gold, which needed the conversion of paddy into cash. Currently and gold value fluctuation could have been minimal. But still it demanded liquidity. If the demand was fixed as a lumpsum, it followed the concessioned relief had also to the expressed in the same terms for the nāḍu as a whole consequently, there could have been some vagaries in the distribution of relief among the different constitutents, and those with greater clout with the Chieftains as in Uñjanai could have secured a larger share of relief. Correspondingly the townships which were not so active or lacked clout tended to lose in relief.

The agrarian and levy conditions and the hardships caused described above bring out the state of affairs in the mid-14th century in the Pāṇḍyan Townships. The question whether they were remedied thereafter can be answered only with reference the conditions in the Vijayanagar and Nāyak times that followed. But the evidence of the period is slender to infuse confidence that relief commensurate with the distress was forthcoming.

FOOT NOTES TO APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IX :

1. 295 / 1949-50 - Iḷaiyānkudi - Mār.Sundara. Also 312/1949-50 - Sālaigrāmam
2. SII XIV - 265.
3. SII XIV - 232.
4. SII V - 412
5. 281 / 1928. Also 279 / 1928 which gives the share of every one of the new Brahmin occupants. The name occurs in another line of 281/1928 as Kāntanallūr.
6. 582 / 1915 - Dārukāpuram.
7. SII VIII - 448.
8. SII VIII - 446-477.

8-A. 316 / 1940-41.

8-B. 727-728 / 1962-63.

8-C. 715 / 1962-63.

9. 337 / 1916 - Tiruvālīśvaram.
10. 481 / 1930.
11. SII XXIII - 125, 126, 128.
12. Ibid 127
13. Ibid 125 line 9.
14. Ibid 126.
15. Ibid 127.
16. Ibid 128.
17. SII XXVI - 497. On the Vijayanagara expedition of Timma and Viṭṭala please see my "Early History of Christians in South India" - National Museum Bulletin 5 & 6.
18. 291 / 72-73.
19. 351 / 1961-62.
20. SII V / 287.
21. SII XIV / 205.
22. SII XXVI / 525.
23. EI XXVIII / pp. 92-93.
24. 295 / 1949-50. Iḷayānkuḍi. This inscription brings out that even Dēvadāna lands had to bear or viniyōgam in cash and paddy. The term "Kuḍinīṅgalāna" may be interpreted to mean that the tenants cultivating the dēvadāna lands were exempted or excluded from the levy so collected.
25. 312 / 1949-50. Sālaigrāmam.
26. 291 / 1949-50.

27. 308 / 1928. Caturvēdimaṅgalam.
28. 52 / 1946-47. Śākkōṭṭai.
29. 2 / 1926. Iraṇiyūr.
30. 505 / 1958-59. Vēlaṅguḍi.
31. 509 / 1958-59. Vēlaṅguḍi.
32. 42 / 1946-47 Śākkottai.
33. 56 / 1946-47 Śākkōṭṭai.
34. 23 / 1926.
35. 81 / 1961. Tirukkaḷakkuḍi.
36. 86 / 1916.
37. 74 / 1916.
38. 64 / 1916.
39. 48 / 1916.
40. On the unsettled conditions, please see my paper "on the viclasitudes of Viraiyāccilai" The collected papers pp. 156 - f.
41. SII XXVI / 43.
42. 11 / 1926.
43. 196 / 1984.
44. 504 / 58-59.
45. SII VIII / 438 - Pirānmalai.
46. Please see "Foreign Notices" pp. 166-167.
47. Please see my "Land grants and agrarian relations" pp. 135-136.
48. Please see my paper on the "Tenuous fisc of the medieval Townships" - "The collected papers" pp. 82-89.

48A. ARE 101 / 1908.

49. On these modlitics, please see my annexure to Chapter III - Supra - pages . . . .
50. SII V / 413.
51. Ibid. 414
52. 206, 207 / 1923.
53. 208 / 1933.
54. SII VIII / 454, 455.
55. Ibid. 455. There are gaps in the text.
56. 715, 716 / 1962-63.

57. 432, 433, 434 / 1030.

58. 81 / 1905.

59. 82 / 1905. The order part of the inscription shows the concession in Dramam for Kuṟuvai at 7/20 and not 8/20 as stated in the recommendation part.

60. 80 / 1905.

61. 688A / 1905 - Tiruvēḍagam.

62. 679 / 1905 - Tiruvēḍagam. The inscription is incomplete.

63. 554 / 1926.

64. 541 / 1926.

65. 556 / 1926.

66. 557 / 1926.

67. 206 / 1980-81. The text is not available. The inferences are based on the abstract of the ARE.

68. 75 / 1929.

69. 329 / 1959-60. Vēmbattūr.

70. 323 / 1960, Vēmbattūr. Kōlkuditāṅgi was 24 śān.

71. 406 / 1954-55. Kunnakkuḍi.

72. 174 / 1937. Kunnakkuḍi.

73. 91 / 1924.

74. 73 / 1924.

75. 67 / 1924

76. 190 / 1924.

77. 26 / 1916.

78. 192 / 1980-81.

79. 195 / 1980-81. Also 201/1580-81.

80. 193 / 1980.

81. The Sannavanam case (26-1916) seems to be an exception.

CHAPTER X

SOCIETY AND TRENDS OF CHANGES IN PĀṆḌYAN TOWNSHIPS

THE MATHAS IN PANDYAN TOWNSHIPS

An Institution which had greatly influnced the society, and had kept watch over the temple rituals and endowments, and laid down the procedure for the rituals and practices in medival times was the Maṭha. It was invariably headed by a principal Sanyāsin, 'Mudaliyār' as he was termed in Saivite institutions. There were, besides a number of other asceties, or yogis, or Āṇḍārs and also bachelors (māṇi) attending to various services in the maṭha and in the temple. Some times the maṭha functioned as an adjunct of the temple. In other cases it was independent, had received grants as maḍappuṟam, tax free and bought and sold land or house-sites and was running on its own. It fed a number of itinerant Tapasvis who came from without the township and gave them shelter. It organised the recital of Tirugñānam and Śivadharma and other sacred hymns. It trained disciples in the particular persuasions they expounded and ensured continuity of traditions. It instituted gardens and provided for maintaining them and for supply of flowers to the temples. It also provided special services.

The maṭhas had represented a variety of persuasions. The oldest and most widespread was Gōḷakhi Santānam (lineage of Goḷakhi Sanyāsins. They were Saivite. There were Non-Brahmin ascetics having their own hermitage called Guhai. Again, they can be classified as Ēkadaṇda being Śaivite Sanyāsins, of "Tīrtha pādas" as at Kariśūḷndamaṅgalam.[1] The Vaiṣṇavite Sanyāsins assumed the title of Mahāmunigaḷ. They were styled Brahmavidvāns - Brahmin ascetics. In the reign of Jat. Kulaśēkhara I, towards the end of the 11th and early 12th century, Seṇḍalaṅgāra Mahāmunigaḷ had a maṭha in the first ceri of Rājarāja Cm and was instrumental in building a shrine for Kulaśēkhara Āḷvār in Rājēndra Viṇṇagar Temple.[2] He had also had a part in providing for the services and maintenance in Kōḍānūr temple.[3] Though they were Sanyāsins, they had a lively interest in the secular affairs of the temple and these maṭhas could influence the local Chieftains and King's officers and secure grants to the temples and their maṭhas. The Sanyāsins had also been in charge of the special shrines that had sprung up from the 11th century onwards and the Vaiṣṇavās had undertaken to obey the chiefs of the maṭhas. Parānkuśa Mahāmuni took charge of the Kulaśēkhara Āḷvār shrine in AD 1230, and he had the necessary authority willingly vested with him by the Śrīvaiṣṇavās of Rājarāja Cm by a written deed.[4]

The evidence relating to Śaiva maṭhas is naturally larger. There were also maṭhas of different lineage, but the Gōḷakhi maṭha training its lineage to the Tiruvārūr santāna was wide spread. We may notice the maṭhas at different locations and their functioning and the role they played in administering the temple affairs, and in the social life.

Śaiva maṭhas

A number of maṭhas attached to the Śiva temple in the tract have been functioning all over the tract. There was a Mahāvrati Maṭha in the Sundarapandisvaram temple at Tirucculiyal Paḷḷipaḍai in Paruthikkuḍi nāḍu. Twenty sheep for burning a lamp was gifted in the 11th year of Vīra Pandya (AD 957)[5]

In about AD 1091, a Tavasi Uyyaninṟāḍuvān Kaṇḍan alias Īśāna dēvan, built Tirugñāna Sambanda Guhai where Paradesi Āṇḍārs were worshipping Śiva. It was located in the temple appurtenant lands of Rudrakōṭīśvarar in Nṛupaśēkhara Cm, lands were purchased by the benefactor, himself an ascetic and were endowed for the Bikṣā food offerings to the Āṇḍars. The Guhai was a institution of the non-Brahmin ascetics.[6]

In the same township in front of the temple another maṭha Cōḷan vāśal Tiraṇḍān maṭha existed. For the benefit of the Āṇḍārs a resident of Rājarājapuram in Koṅgamaṇḍalam sold lands in Nṛupasēkhara Cm and similarly other lands were purchased from private individuals for the maṭha in about AD 1241.[7]

There was a maṭha Brahmaṇiyar maṭha named after Cēramān Perumāḷ adjoining Tirukārōṇamudaiyār temple in Cōḷavallipaṭṭinam in Paṭṭinakkūṟṟam in Gēyamāṇikka vaḷanāḍu in Cōḷa maṇḍalam. It had perhaps an affiliated inscription at Iraṇiyūr in Kalvāyil nāḍu. A land with Kārāṇmai rights in Iraṇiyūr was granted to it in the third year of Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara.[8]

A series of inscriptions[9] record the setting up of a Gōḷakhi maṭha at Śāthavāsakanallūr in AD 1248-49. This maṭha was named as Enakku Nallaperumāḷ maṭha, named after the benefactor who built it. Oruvāṟuṇarndān Enakku Nallaperumāl alias Tamiḻappallavaraiyar. He figured in several plates as a benefactor and had served Māṟ. Sundara I and his successor Māṟ. Sundara II. He hailed from Rājavillipuram (near Tirunelvēli) in Kīḻavēmbu nāḍu, the maṭha was presided over by a siṣya, a disciple of Tiruvārūr Kṛṣṇa Gōḷaki maṭha Ācāryar, Īśānadēvar and he is termed to be "our Dēvar." The chieftain had perhaps been a siṣya of this ascetic. This object was to provide for the food offerings of the ojther ascetics who were the disciples of this Ācārya and had belonged to the maṭha. The tax dues were remitted in favour of the maṭha as Maḍappuṟa - Iṟaiyili. But the lands were occupied by one Parasurāman alias Pāṇḍyadēvan of Karuṅguḷam alias Śātavāśakanallūr in Veṇbaikkuḍi nāḍu.

The Goḷaki maṭha was a widespread institution, the existence of which is attested from the inscriptions in Tiruvoṟṟiyūr (near Madras) to Tiruvālīśvaram on the banks of Ghaṭana river.

A grant to maintain services to an Āśrayaliṅga set up by the benefactor in the Nṛupaśēkhara Cm. Siva temple was provided for as below. The benefactor was one

Irāvalar Paśupati who was a disciple of Tirupparaṅkunṟam Mēlaipponnambalam Kāṭṭinān Tirumaḍam which belonged to the lineage of Rakṣādyāya santānam of Gōḷaki vamsam. Evidently the Goḷakivamsam heritage was shared by several lineages spread over the tract. He had endowed ½ *mā.* as a garden he had owned and got the *Kaḍamai* and antarāyam in the other hall owned by Vīrabhadradēvar who would continue to cultivate the lands. The endowment was to be supervised by the Tirugñānasambandan Tirumāḍam attached to the Nṛupaśēkhara Cm temple.[10]

Even later in AD 1504. Tirumaṇi nāyakkar who held the authority in and around Tiruppattūr had granted as Sarvamānya to an ascetic who had an establishment to the east of the Sannadhi of the Tiruppattūr temple, to its south. The head of the maṭha was Īśānaśīvan who was described as Pāṇḍya maṇḍalādipati - Pāṇḍināṭṭu Mudaliyār. He belonged to the Kayidra Gōtra, Yajurvēda, Goḷakīya Bōdināyaṇasūtra paripālita. He subscribed to the Goḷaki dharma, Lakṣādyāyi santāna, belonging to the Bikṣā Santhāna. From these particulars it appears that the Goḷaki maṭha was headed by Brahmin ascetics. It also attests that the Goḷaki traditions had been continuing from the 10th to the 16th century in the Pāṇḍyan townships.[11]

In Śivapuri another Maṭha named after the donor, a merchant Aḷagiyanāyakan Uyyavandān of Aruviyūr as granted land in Perumaṭṭiyūr for feeding pilgrims who attended festivals.[12]

There was another maṭha in Tiruppattūr itself in the southern row of the street, to the south of the temple, in its precincts named Tiruttoṇḍattugaiyān Tirumaḍam and it was rebuilt with stone. The Mahāsabhā of Tiruppattūr sold trees and tiles for 20 paḷam *kāśu.* They utilised the sale value for renevating the *Ūr* ambalam, Dayāpañjaran. This was dated 17th year of Vīra Pāṇḍya. The purchaser of the trees was apparently a merchant of Neduvāyil residing in Aḷagāpuri alias cēliyanārāyaṇapuram. The Mahasabha rendered an earlier endowment of land for the maṭha tax-free.[13]

In Tirukaḷakkuḍi there was a Mudaliyār Tirumaḍam.[14] Another maṭha by name Kāraiyūr Kīḻamaḍam had endowed the maḍappuṟam lands in its enjoyment to the deity at Tirukkōḷakkuḍi.[15]

Sometimes the grant was to a maṭha located elsewhere. A royal order[16] and the Nāṭṭār[17] follow up of that order an Uñjanai in the 13th year of Rājarājan Sundara Pāṇḍya, declared the occupied holdings of Tirunārāyaṇamangalam alias Tiruttōṇipuranallūr in Perumbūr nāḍu in Uñjanar paṟṟu tax free maḍapuram. The beneficiary was the Mudaliyār in the Mēlaimaḍam in the Bikṣā maḍam in Perumbaṟṟappuliyūr a Taniyūr.

In Madurai, the capital there was a Tirugñānasambandan Maṭham. It belonged to the Śelva Tiruvadūr Dakshina Gōlaki maṭam. A śiṣya of the Acarya there,

Tatpurusasivar was conducting the Matha at Madurai.[18] The King remitted the taxes and the Mahāsabhā of Cōlāntaka Cm remitted Sabhā viniyōgam and Tadikkuruni on two vēlies of land in AD 1193. In the same year the land endowed in srivallavan Kattalai and Parākrama Pāndyan Kattalai in Cōlāntaka Cm[19] were rid of all the taxes and the Kārānmai rights also were vested with the Matha. They were part of the holdings of Malvarāyar, the Chief who had purchased the lands.

There was a second Matha named[20] after the King Mār. Sundara Pāndya I and the Tapasyar were provided for by grant of land in AD 1226.

A matha named Nāga .... sūryan Tirumadam was provided by the benefactor from Katiāvūr in sevirrukkai nādu. The matha was lending a garden with seven workers. In addition there were 2 Māhēsvarās fed every day, and there were two Bairāgis serving them. The king endowed lands under his personal cultivation in Pāganūr serving them. The king endowed lands under his personal cultivation in Pāganūr Kūrram.[21]

The merchants were in the forefront in making endowments. A merchant of Tenkarai, Parākramapāndyapuram provided for a matha there and for the Tapasyar house-sites purchased at his cost.[22]

A second matha by name Vananāyakan Matam was located in the South street adjoining the temple at Tenrkarai. Gñānadēvar was a Tapasvi heading it, and to provide for him and his disciples and successors lands were purchased from 2 Brahmins in Parākrama pāndyan Kattalai western portion.[23] The king remitted the taxes. This was in AD 1221 on the application of Gñanadēvar.[24]

A third matha was at the eastern entrance of the temple, to its north named Ālālasundaran Tirumadam[25] at the time of Mār. Kulasēkhara. In the same reign (AD 1282) there was a fourth matha at the western entrance to its west, Tirugñānasambandam Tirumadam, the chief of which belonged to the lineage of Pāndarangavānar.[26]

In the adjoining Nagara of Vikramangalam the Ayyāpolil merchants sold house sites and lands to a Sisya of Tirupparankunram Gōlaki matha descendant Kīlaimatha mudaliyar in the 6th year of Jat. Sundara.[27]

There were two mathas at Tirupparankunram - one constructed in the name of Bhagavati Ālvār, perhaps a prince to the north east of the temple.[28] The second was a matha headed by Irāvalar Pasupatidēva residing at Ponnambalam kāttinān matha at Tiruvādavūr adjacent to the temple precincts and some wet lands were endowed by Adigaimān of Ambalatādinallūr to Parākrama Dēvar, the Mudaliyar chief of Ponnambalam Kāttinaperumāl in Tirupparankunra nādu.[30] Perhaps this was identical with the matha last mentioned.

Finally, there is a reference to a matha set up at Mudivalangu Pāndya Cm.[31] where a Sanyāsin lived by name Sri Garbha Mahā Sanyāsi (?) Mahēndragiri Sri Vatangal Srimat Purusōttama Sakha Śrīvar and his śisyas. A Tondaimān of Tirupudavūr in Alanādu Prānajīvīśvaramudaiyān provided ten *mā* of land as Madappura Iraiyili for this matha.

Moving to the Tāmbraparani basin a number of mathas had sprung up during the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries. Tiruvālīsvaram which sprung up in the reign of Rajaraja I and liberally provided for by the Cōla-Pandya rulers continued to be an active centre of Śaiva ācāryas. The earliest reference is to a Cōla-pāndya Matham in an inscription at Ambāsamudram (AD 1035)[31A]

An inscription of AD 1193 refers to the Grāma-rājan Tirumadam in the 10th cēri of Rājarāja Cm provision was made for feeding the Mahēśvaras on the Amāvāsya (new-moon) days, two *accus* granted by a resident of Niccilākandaperunderu were received by the śisyas of the matha (Śīyar pillai) Udayapillai and Aghoradēvar. Tiruvālavāyudaiyār - Nētradēvar Kuniccapillai Sadāśiva dēvar Pillai Tiruccirrambalamudaiyan and Adiravīsiyāduvār received the amount and agreed to deliver (as interest) 10 *kalams* of paddy per year. The rate of interest was 5 *kalams* per *accu*.[32]

In AD 1198 a donor from Malaimandalam gave 10 *accu* for feeding the Tiruttondar (the devotees) at the same matha. This matha was the place of residence of the Āndārs worshipping Tiruvālīśvaram nāyanār. The feeding was to be done for 50 people every month and on the Tiruvōnam asterisk of the Nāyanār Udaya Pillaiāndār, perhaps the chief of the Āndārs.[33]

In AD 1219, 4 *accu* were added by another donor from Malaimandalam, Aghōradēvar for feeding the Mahēśvaras in the same matha which Tatpurusadēvar (an inmate of the matha) undertook to implement.[34]

A third matha Vīrapandita Madam located therein was donated another 6 *accu* by the same native of Malaimandalam Aghōradēvar for feeding on the Rohini asterisk of Tiruccirrambalamudaiyār the Tapasyar who came from without. This was undertaken by a Tapasyar inmate, Vāgīśan Adiravīśiyāduvān who agreed to deliver 30 *kalams* as interest. (AD 1221)[35]

In the same year a dancing girl from Mukkūdal (Śīvalappēri) attached to Mukkōkilānadigal Īśvaramudaiyār by name Ātkondanāyagar Mānikkam gave 3 *accu* to yield 15 *kalams*. The same Āndār, Adiravīśiyāduvār undertook to feed 15 Brahmins per month.[36] Apparently this was also a Brahmin Matha.

An inscription of the 6th year (AD 1222) from Tiruvālīśvaram in its idiom is interesing. A lady (mulaiyelundār) had made an endowment. But it fell into disuse.

there was no male member (mōvāyelundār) to revive the charity. Hence a Śiṣya of Bhikṣā matham. Tirumagilkāttapillai as directed by the Head of the Matha restored the charity.[37]

In AD 1226 one of the devotees residing in Vīrapāndyan (should be Vīrapandita) ... which has already been referred to Adiravīsiāduvān Vāgīsāndār provided for the delivery of the betel and nuts from a garden called Ālālasundaran to the north of the temple.

Betel per day 80 leaves 2 parru.

Kadamai - Against 8 dramam = 40 arecanuts per day

Per year 7 plantain bunch for both sacred bath and for feeding. There were undertaken by the eight shareholders of Śivabrāhmanas.[38]

The Gōlaki matha which had farflung establishments had also an establishment here.

In AD 1222 a Tapsya of the lineage of Gōlaki matha santāna provided for the deity of Tiruvālīśvaram to be taken around the temple precincts on every Amāvasya day and 2 *Tūni* of rice offerings were to be made. He deposited 10 *accus* with interest yield at 5 *Kalams*.[39]

In the third year of Jat.Vīra the 8 shareholders of Śivabrāhmanas gave an undertaking to Kaliapperumāl a Tapasvi of the lineage of Gñānāmrdācāriyār of Gōlaki matha. Kaliapperumāl was assigned the duty to recite Tirugñānam at the shrine of Candikēśvara (Tirukkaiyotti). He was to tbe paid padakku paddy day for him and his maintenance (Korru) for which ½ *mā.* was assigned in the Dēvadāna. Sivacaranaśēkhara nallūr. He was to enjoy it as other tenants (Taramuludum Kudikkaduttu), paying the land dues and also the cash levy (Ponvari) from the Mēlvāram and Uludānkandōn vari (by the cultivating tenants). Even after his demise his lineage shall recite Tirugñānam and enjoy the lands.[40]

In the same year the Śivabrāhmanas gave Kāni, Araikkāni (1/80, 1/160) 3/160 *vēli* of land as *Iraiyili* also from the same Dēvadāna lands to Aghōradēvan, of the discipleship of Gñānanritācāriyar of Gōlaki matha for rearing Pāndyataraiyan garden. The Śivabrāhmanas gave up all rights to mēlvāram[41] Aghōradeva was to pluck flowers plain garlands at the wooden-plank and deliver them to the temple.

Tirunelvēli too had a number of matha. There was considerable activity setting up these mathas in the reign of Mār. Sundara II (acc 1238) in AD 1249 the King granted lands in a number of villages in Kīlkalakkūrram in the hamlets of Śīvalamangalam (Sivalapperi) including Cōlakulamānikkanallūr, Paniniraikondān as

Madappura Iraiyili. The matha was established by Mammātti (aunt or mother-in-law) of the King in the southern street on the southern row towards the east in her name as Śeyyanambirātti matham. The land grant was for the sustenance of 30 Tapasyas, including those from without residing therein and for providing for the following:

To recite Tirugñānam	1
To look after the temple bed chamber	1
To serve as attendants (Designate for providing for successon)[42]	4
Santāna sāpan	1
To attend to matha affairs	1
	8

The mathas served also as a choultry for pilgrims to stay in Tirunelvēli (Ūrkku vidutiyāgayāle)[43]

Five years later, at the request of his brother-in-law Vikrama Cōla dēvar. The King granted to eleven persons of various santānas (lineages) to several Biksā mathams one in the north, and a second in the south and a third Tirunelvēli māligai matham for reciting Tirugñānam, eleven housesities were alloted to these ascetics, some of whom were from Tiruvārūr and from Tirunāgēsvaram in the Cōla heartland.[44] The lands granted were in Cēranmādēvi Cm (Vettipparru) ¼ *vēli* and 1½ *mā*, Arikēsarinallūr ¼ *vēli*, and Suttavalli (vīravinōda Cm 6 *mā* and ½, in all 1 *vēli* and 8 *mā* as Tirugñānappuram. This grant of land was at the instance of his elder brother Tamilappallavaraiyan.[45]

In a matham named Tiruvidai Kattil matham there resided two Tapasvis, Nambiārūran alias Rākkatapperumāl and Nambiārūrār. There were also other service-assistants. The Kaikkōla Sēnapatis of Tirunelvēli sold land in Pattanmadai to a dancing girl Kūttan Nambirātti 1 *mā* of land for 2 panam[46] to provide for the sustenance of these inmates. This was in the 4th year of Jat. Vīra Pāndya. There was one more matha in the North Street of Tirunelvēli named Śaivapperumāl madam headed by Purappavala sivar of Kīlaimādasantāna. In the 6th year of Kulaśēkhara 2½ *mā* of land was granted as Iraiyili for the matha which the Mahāsabhā of Śēramādēvi Cm registered.[47] An undated inscription from Kallidaikuricci conveys that the Śrīrudras and Śrīmāhēśvaras living in the surrounding streets of Nālāyira Īśvaramudaiyār at Kallidaikuricci agreed to the request of the Śrīrudran Śrī Māheśvaras of 18 Visayar assembled at the courtyard of Tirugñānasambandan matha at Tirumādavanūr in Anda nādu a division of Pāndimandalam that the former gave the privilege to the Tirugñānasambandan matha to have an institution of their own as Tirugñānasambandan

Talam in the Kulaśēkharan Tirumaḍai vilāgam at Kallidaikuricci. This shows how maṭhas having their headquarters elsewhere were enabled to establish their branch or adjunct organisations in other places of their choice.[48]

In Seranmadevi Cm attached to the Dēvitammal Īśvaramuḍaiyār temple there was the Mēlai Tirunāvukkaraśar maṭham in which 8 *accu* were deposited. From the interest proceeds the pilgrims from without who came on festival days when the deity was taken in procession, were fed.[49]

In the first part of the reign of Mār. Kulaśēkhara (about the 13th year) the *Ūrār* of Kāriśēri (Ulaguyya vanda pāṇḍya nallūr) recognised a successor-designate to one Āṇḍār Sundarapperumāḷ who was doing the Mādāpatyam in Kulaśēkhara Īśvaramuḍaiyanāyanār.[50]

In Manaṟpaḍaivīdu, the cantonment township in the north-eastern part of Śrīvallavamaṅgalam there was a maṭha presided over by Āgamaśīladēvar alias Umaiyorupāga Mudaliār of the lineage of the Bikṣā maṭha Mār. Vira Pāṇḍya granted in AD 1448 5 *mā* of land to this maṭha as maḍappuṟam.[51]

Late inscriptions as in Ś 1476 (AD 1554) bear out the continued role of the maṭhas. The Chief of a maṭha at Tirunelvēli, Śrī Pañcākṣaradēvar sold land and provided for the mantradānam in the Tirunelvēli Temple.[52] He is described as belonging to the Bōdhāyana Sūtra gōtra (Lost) Lakṣādyāpaka santati Mēlaimaḍathu Mudaliyār Tirupparaṅkunṟattu Mudaliyār.

We now notice some Vaiṣṇavite maṭhas functioning in the period from the 10th to the 14th century in the Pāṇḍyan Townships. The Saiva mathas were far larger in number naturally than the Vaiṣṇava maṭhas. We have evidence of the Vaiṣṇava maṭhas from the beginning of the 12th century. The evidence gathers volume in the 13th and 14th centuries, during the long reign of Mār. Kulaśēkhara.

Initially there appears to have been no sectarian segregation of the Śaivite (Ēkadaṇḍi) and Srivaiṣṇava (Tridaṇḍi Sanyāsins)

Jaṭ. Vīra Pāṇḍya in his 18th year 82nd day granted 10 *mā.* of land in the southern hamlet of Rājarāja Cm. Madilkuṟicci for maintaining a feeding house for Brahmin Ekadaṇḍi and Tridaṇḍi Sanyāsins and for the training they imparted. The feeding house was established on the banks of the river Tāmbraparaṇi by one Tirunīlakaṇṭan Rājakkanāyanār alias Toṇḍaimānār of Puduvūr in Aḷanāḍu (i.e. Suruliyāṟu belt)[53]

In about A.D. 1277 at Aṭṭāḷanallūr on the banks of Tāmbraparaṇi a jīyar, (ascetic) Rāmānuja jīyar attached to Ānaikkarulseyda Pirān temple of Moymāmbūm poḷil had lent ¼ Nallānai *accu* to the Vaiṣṇavas. The latter agreed to deliver per day nāḷi cooked

rice offerings to the jīyar. On days they did not do so, they agreed to deliver nāḻi uri paddy. They were to themselves take over this interest-equivalent and on 2 festivals and Tiruvadhyayana they shall arrange for 2 parasols when the deity is taken in procession in a palanquin (Śīvikai). Apparently, the cooked rice or paddy was meant to pay the wages for the parasol bearers.[54]

Āḻvartirunagari is a most renewned Vaiṣṇavite centre, being Nammalvar's place of residence. In AD 1224, 6 accus were gifted to the treasury of Aḻvar Tirukkuṟugūr Mahāmunigaḷ who founded the Aruḷāḷatādan matha for the Brahmavidvāns of the village and for offerings and worship to god Tirunāḍudaiyapirān when he proceeded in a procession to Tirumudi Śūṭṭinān - Tirunandavanam in the months of Āvaṇi and Vaigāsi (August-September and May-June)[55]

In AD 1316-17 nearly a century later, Māṟ. Kulaśēkhara I granted to the same maṭha as Maḍappuṟa Iṟaiyili two hamlets. One Oḍa nāṭṭaḍigaḷ (perhaps a Vēnāḍu Chieftain) provided for the food and other needs of the Brahmavidavāns from the 18 Vīṣayas residing in the Aruḷāḷadāsar maṭha. He purchased from a few Brahmins of Śrīvaikuṇṭam (Rajendra Cm) two hamlets Seṅgankuḷam and Neḍuṅguḷam excluding earlier grants. The King granted the land dues payable by these two hamlets as recommended by Kāliṅgarāyar. The Maṭha was presided over by Tiruvōymoḻi Mahāmunigaḷ the disciple of Tirukkuṟukūr Mahāmunigaḷ.[56]

A 14th century epigraph from Tirumaṅgai āḻvār shrine at Tirukkuṟuṅguḍi records the grant of land as Maḍappuṟa Iṟaiyili for feeding the Śrīvaiṣṇavas at the Tirumaṅgai maṭha which was run by Tridaṇḍi Sanyāsins. It is apparent that the Brahma vidvāns were specially incharge of such shrines set up for āḻvārs.[57]

Aḻagarkōil is the famous centre for Vaiṣṇavas. Festivals were conducted in the months of Āḍi, Aṟpasi, Mārgaḻi and Cittirai. For feeding the Brahmins who undertook their pilgrimage at these festival times, Munayadaraiyan of Kappalūr in Muttūṟṟukkūṟṟam had built a maṭha named (apparently after the ruler) Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara. He had also endowed his occupancy holdings in Rājarājanallūr in Tirukkānappērkkuṟṟam 2¼ vēli in land. The King remitted the taxes and granted the lands as Maḍappuṟa Iṟaiyili in AD 1216. The Mārgaḻi festival was obviously the Adyayana Utsava when all the 4000 verses of Divya Prabandam were recited.[58]

Tiruttaṅgāḷ was also a Vaiṣṇavite centre celebrated in the Divya Prabhandam. Its earlier history and the contributions of Gurukulattaraiyan, a Chieftain under Māṟ. Sundara I have been recounted earlier. Here is an instance of a private benefaction to provide for the feeding of people who rendered service in the processions of and the maintenance works for the deity. A Moudgalya Brahmin. Sōmayaji Caturvēda Bhaṭṭa Sōma Bṛhaspati Sarva catuṣṭhoma Samastagnicit Sarvakratuyaji donated Mākāni $^1/_{16}$ veli

of land under the Dēvēndravallabhappēréri tank of the village in AD 1233.[59] There was another matha privately endowed by two Brahmins of Tiruttangal[60] at that time.

The Viṣṇu temple in Cōḷapuram had been provided with lands by a Periya Jīyar and Ilaiya Jīyar and ayyar (perhaps the father of the king). A Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān grant the 16th year granted remission of taxes in the Dēvadāna-Brahmadēya.[61]

A later inscription of AD 1449 refers to a Tiruvēṅgadanāthan maṭha in Puḷiyaṅguḷam which was provided for by the Bāṇa Chief Māvali vāṇādaraiyan Uraṅgavillidāsan whose endowment in Aḷagarkōil were numerous.[62]

We may finally notice the Tīrthapāda maṭha at Romīsa Tīrtha of the Tāmbraparaṇi banks in Kariśūḷndamaṅgalam.[63]

Records of the early 14th century AD revealed the tract and the temples had gone over to the regime of the Tiruvaḍi Chieftains, of Jayasimhanāḍu (Kaḷakkāḍu and Thōvāḷa tract) in Tirunelvēli and Kanyākumari districts. They also brought to notice a well-established maṭha belonging to Paramahamsa Parivrājaka Śrīpada Svāmis. Besides having an establishment of their own they yielded considerable influence over Veṇkatācalapati temple and its administration. The principal head of this maṭha was Amara-Rājapuri Śrīpada[64] who also lent his name to the vicintly of the Viṣṇu temple, named Amararājapūri Caturvēdimaṅgalam. Four of his successors named in the records were Dēvēndrapuri. Mukundānandapūri[64A] (there appeared to be two sanyasins of the same name) and Śaṅkarānanda.[65]

In AD 1312, Mukundānanda Śrīpada of this maṭha had to order a change in the incumbency of the manager of the endowments of the maṭha and the temple.[66] Hitherto these properties were managed by one Iruvīṭṭukkōil Maṇiyan son of Maṇiyan, who was capable and devoted to the maṭha and he ensured that the food and clothing expenses of the inmates were met, and the festivals and daily offerings in the temple were properly conducted from out of the income from the properties of the institution. After Maniyan's death, his eldest son Nārāyaṇan proved unequal to the task, allowed the dues to fall arrears, and surrendered the title deeds and his credentials to the maṭha. This affected the conduct of the maṭha and of the temple rituals. When he was admonished by the head of the maṭha he did not improve. Thereupon Mukundānanda invoked the assistance of the Sabhā assembling in the temple of Kōḍanūr[67] (identifiable as Kōḍaganallūr in Tirunelvēli taluk on the north bank of Tāmbaraparaṇi river.) Inspite of their intervention, Nārāyaṇan declined the responsibility for the management of the properties, stating that "in these days they (the cultivators and tenants) would not pay the (dues in) paddy and money" (*ikkālattu nellum paṇamum tārār enṟu*) both before the sabhā and directly to the head of the maṭha. Thereupon Mukundānanda appointed another capable and ardent devotee of the maṭha to manage the properties.

This document would show that normally the management functions of such charities devolved by hereditary succession that enough opportunities were given, fully complying with principles of natural justice, to the hereditary successor, before he was changed, and the head of the maṭha did not hesitate to appoint a new manager if, even after all such steps, it was inevitable. It would also indicate that unless the management was capable the collection of dues was not all that easy and could fall into arrears even at that time.

A Sanyāsin of the same name, perhaps, another in succession, repaired and reconsecrated the Tentiruvēṅgadamudaiya Emperumān Shrine in AD 1398-99 at the Pāvanāśini Tirtha on the Tanporundam river.[68] The deity was worshipped by Romēśa Maharsi a Riṣi referred to in Bhāgavata Purāṇa.[69] The temple lands were to be administered by Mukundānanda Śrīpāda and also the Chief, Mārttānda Aḍigaḷ of Jayasimhanāḍu. Endowments were made for various purpose - for maintaining lamps, for the maṭha, for the dress or clothing, garlands and sandal and food offerings for the deity. The arrangements were to be supervised by the disciples of the Maṭha. The record also referred to three maid servants who were also the servants of the matha, Aruvi, her daughter Nakkāvuḍiyāḷ, and grant daughters, Mali and Piṟavi who were to serve both the temple and the Maṭha. A record of AD 1344[70] referred to two washermen gifted for the temple service. a record of 1401[71] similarly endowed men and women as servants in the temple who were also to obey the orders of the Śrī kārya śiṣyas (disciples of the maṭha). In AD 1417, seven more persons were similarly endowed for hereditary service to the temple and the maṭha[72] Additions to the temple servants were made in A.D. 1433.[73] A native of Malaimaṇḍalam made money-gift for offerings to the deity.[74]

The adminstration of the temple and of the maṭha had become so completely fused that an inscription of AD 1453[72] recorded that Mukundānandapūri, a disciple of Amararāja Śrīpāda was pleased to declare that all property of the maṭha be amalgamated with those of the temple, and that these together with the jewels of gold and silver vessels, coins, utensils and valuable cloths of the maṭha be in the enjoyment of the temple. Arrangements were also made for the auditing of the accounts and for the maintenance of the disciples of the maṭha. The Mukundānanda should have been a successor-sanyāsin or the yati of the same name occurring in the record of AD 1312. He might, perhaps have been identical with the sanyāsins of the same name referred to in the inscription of AD 1398 and it that be so the veneration and dedication of the sanyasin seen in his eartier years to this deity must have ripened in his old age so much that he was prompted to merge the properties and belongings of both the temple and the maṭha.

Provision was made in AD 1509 for offerings on special festival days in the month of Kārtigai in the Viṣṇu temple in the presence of Śrī Śaṅkarānanda Śrīpada of the maṭha and the temple servants.[76] The maṭha had thus continued to maintain its influence and control over the management of the Viṣṇu temple for well over two centuries.

To sum up, the mathas were a necessary and useful adjunct to the temple. They were of different persuasions the Śaivite the Vaiṣṇava the non-Brahmin Guhais and the 'Tīrtha' lineage the Māhēśvaras of Tirukoḍuṅkūṟṟam laid down the procedure for Śaiva āgama rituals.[77] The Gōḷaki maṭhas is an ancient institution dating back to the time of Rājēndra I, if not earlier it had a wide spread. The Tiruvārūr linage appears to predominate in the Golaki establishments down south. The maṭhas ensured proper observance of the rituals they kept watch over the temple treasury and the different apatments in the temple. They also ensured the recital of Tirugñanam or themselves did it. They fed the mendicants and pilgrims coming from other places. They participated in the festivals of temples and when the deity was taken in procession. They particularly formed flower gardens, tended them gathered flowers and supplied to the deity for daily worship.

The Vaiṣṇavite maṭhas also had similar functions in the Viṣṇu temples. In addition they looked after the shrines for āḻvārs when they were erected separately as Rājēndravinnagar and Tirukkuruṅguḍi. They laid down the code of conduct for the Vaiṣṇavas and doubtless performed the Śamāsrayana (or initiation) as disciples and gave the mantrōpadēśa and Daśavanāma to the Vaiṣṇavite followers. They ensured the recital of the Divyaprabanda. They were held in high esteem.

Grants for the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava maṭhas were made for their sustenance and for feeding the mendicants both stationary and mobile. The maṭhas kept a vigilant watch over the administration of endowments and performance of services and worship in the temples of their own persuasion.

Jaina Paḷḷis

We have already noticed the Jaina Paḷḷi named after himself set up by a minister of Mār. Sundara I from Rājavillipuṟam on the hill at Tiḍiyūr called Jinagirimāmalai. The deity was named after the minister Enakkunalla nāyakar and the shrine as Nyāyaparipālapperumbaḷḷi.[78] A second Jaina shrine was noticed in Peruṅguḷam.[79]

Similar Jaina temples had existed at Kuppālnattam in Tirumaṅgalam Taluk where five images were set up including one of a lady disciple.[80] A 12th century Kannada inscription at Kīḻakkuḍi refers to jaina teachers Añja dēva Balacandradēva of Balaguḷa belonging to the Mūla Saṅgha, Nēmidēva, Ajitasēnadēva and Govardhanadēva. The

contact with the famous jaina centre at Śravaṇabelgoḷa in Karnātaka was evident.[81] There was also an ancient Jaina temple at Iḷayāṅgudi called Nāṟpatteṇṇāyirapperumbaḷḷi.[82]

Mention has already been made of the mosque and the Churches that came up towards the end of the study period on the east coast.

Public amenities

The temple itself was the main focus of the life in the township. Consistently with the social and religious practices there were public amenities, set up or endowed by individuals and the community. In every populous township there was an ambalam a common place where water and fire were kept and agniṣṭōma sacrifices were performed.[83] The Mahāsabhā also met therein for transacting public purposes as noticed already. A 13th century inscription records the lands bought from the *Ūrār* and made tax-free. A road was laid and street lamps were provided by a benefactor for the deity to be taken in procession,[84] indeed, it was the obligation of the Community to clear streets, and pour water for receiving the deity in procession. There were also ferries to take people across the rivers when in spate as from Tiruppuḍaimarudūr to Śāttapattu.[85]

FESTIVAL

Special services as on Amāvāṣya[86] (new moon) days and festivals in several months of the year were provided by private benefactors as well as by royal grants or by assignment of land dues by the Chieftains. In the 5th year of Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara (AD 1195) a Tirukkoḍi festival to be conducted in the months of Citrai and for taking the deity. Dvārāvatipperumāḷ and his consorts was provided for by a benefactor from Malaimaṇḍalam, depositing 3 *accu*.[87]

In the 8th year of Māṟ. Sundara I (AD 1224) the Chieftain from Rajavillipuram Oruvāṟunarndān Tamiḷ pallavaraiyan had instituted a festival to celebrate the birthday asterisk of the king - viz., Aviṭṭam in the month of Purattāśi (August-September) in Tiruvāliśvaram temple. The King assigned the *Kaḍamai* and *antarāyam* on lands in Rājarāja Cm which were capable of growing 2 crops.[88]

In Pattanmaḍai there was no provision for any festival in the Śiva temple. A priest took the initiative approached Vīrarājēndra Cōḷa Vaḷḷuvanāḍāḷvān and through him secured a land grant for a festival to culiminate on Paṅguni Uttram in recognition of his service the temple authorities gave him 1 *mā.* land yielding 5 *Kalams* per crop as (santāna cāmam) hereditary grant.[89]

In the regin of Māṟ. Sundara II, 11th year (AD 1248-49) Vēṇāvuḍayār had institued a festival in the month of Citrai on the final day Tīrtha was to be distributed to

coincide with his asterisk Uttirattādi and lands were granted by the King providing for it.[90]

In Sinnamanūr in the 10th year of Mār. sundara I (AD 1226) a Kalyānōtsava (Marrige festival) for the goddess of the bed chamber was instituted by a *Vēlār*.[91]

In Tirukōstiyūr in the 13th year of Jat. Śrīvallabha (AD 1103) the King remitted taxes on lands in Nāttāramangalam and Purkuli, to provide for a nine day festival in the month of Arpasi the final day to coincide with the King's asterisk, Cittirai.[92]

The Chieftain of Niyamam, Kāngēyan instituted a festival on every Punarvasu asterisk falling in every month in the temple at Tiruppattūr. It also provided for Vinnappam śeivār, devaradiyār, śāmbān(?) mattalakkāran and Tamil pāduvār.[93]

In AD 1224. a Brahmin, Ātrēyan Kunreduttān Srivallabhan purchased lands from the Sabhaiyār of Tiruttangal and provided 6 *mā* for celebrating Śrījayanti in the month of Āvani on Rohini asterisk birthstar of Krsna and for the Tiruneyādal taking the deity in procession in the township (Ūrilē Tiruneyādal.)[94]

These instances should suffice to indicate the wide spread of festivals through several months in the year and the manner in which they were informed and how they were provided for.

There was hardly any township which had no festivals and if there were not any, donars were not slow to come by to institute them. While these were celebrations in the main temples, village festivals for the village deities for Durga or Pidāri or Jyesta and the particular monthly festivals as Pillaiyār nōnbu in Āvani, Kārtigai lighting festivals, the Visu and ayana were other occasions of social festivals.

The festive occasions gave a fillip for the display of songs, dance and dance-drawn and other forms of art. There were several kinds of dance, Śānti kūttu[95] Śakkaikūttu (enacted by three women twice in a year, in Citrai and in Purattāśi in the temple at Perumbalānji[96] A dancing girl at Pattanmadai was granted 1 mā for performing a dance drama. The soldiery at Pattanmadai though many of them were illiterate, could still enjoy a dance or a drama[97] 2 mā. of land was purchased from Kudanāttār and endowed in Āttūr as Tirunādaka - Kūttādum Kāni[98] during the festival in the month of Āvani.[98]

In Tirunelvēli there was a regular Nrta ceremony and six musicians were doing service during the ceremony. Significantly, the inscription is engraved near the Natarāja Shrine.[99] The troupe of drummers and percussion instrumentalists were engaged. The wages paid were 10 *accu* and 120 *kalams* of paddy, payable half and half per crop in the sixth year of Vikrama Pāndya.[100]

The drummers troupe at Madurai consisted of eleven persons - drummers 4, Timilai 2, Śēmakkāl 2, Kasai (karai)2, Tiruccinnam 1, - in all 11 for whom a maintenance grant of land was made.[101]

The naṭṭuvan (the conductor of the dance) and the dancers and the women supervisors (Memmaṭṭi) were each granted 1 ma. of land.[102] The functions of dancing girls are also described aṛai kattu, Tiruvaḍi nilai, Teruvālatti Tiruccunnam and 10 persons took part in such functions. They had also to look after the provision store, perform the auspicious ceremony of ālattu (to take a plate of cunnam and turmeric) to ward off evil eye.[103]

The dancing girls also had set up shrines, built temples and added structures and installed deities. A śāndi kūtti, Ulagamuḷudayal set up a shrine for Dēvi (Durga) on the north gate of Vaḷḷiyūr and built the Shrine and also set up a metal image of her grant-daughter Suryapiḷḷai and Astradēva.[104]

A Tiruvālīśvaram inscription registers an order of the King (Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara) that the temple authorities should get rice required for the services husked by the dancing girls of the temple. The Śrīrudra Śrīmāhēśvaras of suttamalli maṅgalam had requested for the orders which were passed.[105] Some idea of the wages for the dances and drummers has already been given above.

In Tirunelvēli percussion instrumentalists, 10 in number some of them related[106] among themselves, were granted for their food, shelter and maintenance at 4½ accu per person per year in all 45 accu. In liew of it the viniyōga accu from two villages one in Tenkarai nāḍu and another in Kīḻavēmbu nāḍu were assigned. They were also assigned two house-sites in the west main street.[107]

The artists and those who rendered songs before the deity were honoured (Tirukkaivaḷakkam.)[108] In Tiruppuḍaimarudūr a poet composed Marudūr Mālai in praise of the deity. In K-732 (AD 1556) the composer Rāmanāthan was honoured with the title 'Marudavana Kavirāyar' and was granted 2 *nāḷi* of cooked rice per day besides a grant of land and housesite. It was ordered that the poem shall be sung in, 2 festivals of Kēṭṭai asterisk.[109] Though late (AD 1555-56) this is undoubtedly an example of how patronage was extended to Tamil composers and literature was fostered. A poet sang verses in praise of a Chieftain and granted a piece of land which he endowed for a lamp service in a temple.[110]

Both Sanskrit and Tamil classics and Puranas and itihasas and Prabhandas were recited in temple and provision was made for hereditary services. A Rājakēsarivarman inscription of the 11th year at Tirukōṣṭiyūr provides for the recital of Prābhākara.[111] There was a library (Sarasvati Bhaṇḍāram) attached to the temple at Sērmādēvi.[112] A

service tenure for Adhyayana (recital of Vēdas) was instituted in Tirunelvēli.[113] There appears to have been some remissness in the monthly recital of the Vēdas (Māda anusandānam) and the Sabhā regulated it and provided for the prompt recital.[114] In Tiruvālisvaram Śivadharma was recited as already noticed.[115] A later inscription of Mār. Kulaśēkhara at Kaḍayanallūr also provides for similar recital.[116] Two Brahmins of Tiruttangāl provided for the recital of Mahābhārata. Rāmāyaṇa and purāṇas in the maṭha they built at the place.[117] In the reign of Mār. Kulasekhara (AD 1284-85) Vakulā bharaṇa Bhaṭṭa was granted special prasādams - 3 per day, besides sweets and garlands and sandal and betel for reciting Dharma Itihāsa. purāṇās and ślōkas before the deity at Āḻvārtirunagari.[118]

Tamil Prabhandams also were equally in vogue as part of the daily or special rituals. In śiva Temples the Tamil Tirumaṟai songs and Tirugñānam were rendered to the beat of the rhythm by hand. In Vaiṣṇava temples, the different parts of the Divya prabhandam were recited. The hymns of Śaḍagopan (Nammāḻvar) were recited daily and land was gifted for the purpose in the regin of Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara (6th year AD 1196)[119] One of the Srivaiṣṇavas of Nācciyār Śrīvillipputtūr rendered them. In Tirukōṣṭiyūr Tirumōḻi (of Tirumangai āḻvār) was recited before the deity. This was recited in 10 days for 3 days a donor Kāḻamēgadāsar provided. 150 *Paḻam kāśu*. For the remaining 7 days they got the lands encroached upon illegally by others in Neriyanguḍi ayacut, using the good offices of Vēṇavuḍaiyūr and provided for the recital besides granting temple honours. This was conveyed in the letter of Mūlaparuḍayār of Tirukōṣṭiyūr.[120] In Alagarkoil both Āṇḍal's verses (Nacciyār Tirumoḻi, Tiruppāvai) (Kōdai Pāṭṭu)[121] and Caḍagōpan Pāṭṭu were recited. In Aḻgarkōil the deity heard the hymns from the Car (Tēr) called Amaittanārāyaṇan in the Tyāganciriyān street on the 9th day festival in the month of Āḍi.[122]

During the royal visits to temples as when Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara I visited Rājēndra viṇṇagar, Tiruppāvai was recited.[123]

SOCIAL TENSION

Life was not always smooth and peaceful. There were social tensions. These were caused by the political upheavals, the Hoysāḷa intervention, the Muslim invasion and even when the Kannadigas were reestablishing their authority thereafter. There were also social tensions caused by the misconduct from the accepted customary moral code which led to crimes committed by individuals by Brahmins which made the collective authority of the community assert itself.

Certain endowments for lamp services made in the reign of Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara I had fallen into disuse in the next reign of Mār. Sundara due to a confusion in the nāḍu (Nāṭṭu Kalakam) and they were subsequently restored.[124] Again an undated

inscription in Tirunelvēli refers to a congregation in the Kulaśēkharan Tirumaṇḍapam in the temple.[125] The Śri Rudrar the five Guhai Tiruttōṇḍar and Tiruvīdiāṇḍar and Pariśīlāṇḍar of Suttamalli maṅgalam and the Śri Rudrar of the 18 visayōtrar and Śrīmāhēsvaras met. One of the devotees announced at the Congregation that there were no food offerings for the deity and the goddess in the Tiruvālīśvaram temple. Presumably this was remedied by the collective action. The inscription is incomplete and details of the remedy arranged are not available.

In the 27th year of Vīra Pāṇḍya the paddy and the cash due from Pilavilai in Rājarāja cm. endowed by Iḷaiyāḷvān[126] got obstructed due to local disturbance. The Kār dues were not realised from Purattāsi to Māṟgaḷi. Hence a revised schedule for payment to commence from Tai, stipulating 600 *kalams* and Paṇam 30 per year was drawn up in a deity's order and it was to be entrusted to one of the Parisilāṇḍars attached to Tirunelvēli temple.[127]

We have already referred to the dislocation in service and hardship caused by the Hoysāḷa intervention in the reign of Māṟ. Sundara and the Muslim invasions in the 14th century and even during the Kannada intervention to restore order thereafter.[128] A later inscription at mēlacceval (AD 1506) referred to the destruction of the temple therein during Muslim invasion and how a Malayāḷa chief from Quilon restered the temple and made his family members responsible for the administration of the temple.[129] We hear of records or title deeds being lost in local disturbances and copies being granted.[130]

The community also gratefully granted Pāḍikāval rights to the Suraikkuḍi Chieftain and the *Ūrār* for protecting the Tiruppattūr temple when the Muslims encamped with in.[131]

In about AD 1452-53 there was a conflict which broke out between the Veḷḷaināḍar i.e. the residents of Veḷḷaināḍu (the tract to the west of Viḷavancodu near Neyyāttaṅkara South of Vēnāḍu)[132] and the Veḷḷāḷas of the Tamil speaking tract to the east. There was a social ostracism and inhibitions recorded in two identical inscriptions one dated Kollam 628 Cittarai 9th at Tiruvidāṅgōḍu[133] and another in Kallidai Kuṟicci[134] of the same date. This social conflict and tensions had existed even in Kollam 555 (AD 1379-80). The inscription recalls two earlier records of Kollam 555 and 591 (AD 1415-6).

The first record of 555 recalls that one Pāśittalai Vikraman Ādittan had committed some offences against the Veḷḷāḷar. In K. 591 Kōḷari Ayyappan and Ayyappan Kumaran and Āndur Śeḷlvangan had committed similar offences against the Veḷḷāḷars. The people their representatives and their executives and the accountants and all the Veḷḷāḷas met together and decided to kill the three offenders. They also prohibited the residents of Veḷḷaināḍu from working together with the Veḷḷāḷas as labourers, nor could they

represent the Vellālas or be their executives or accountants or be occupants of lands. There were reiterated. The record K. 628 added that the Vellai nādar shall not marry women or take them as consorts from the Tamil part of the country. The Kallidaikuricci record listed 23 persons who were holding the accountancy in Brahmadēśam or other executive functions (Kadaikūttu) etc and authorised that they be killed at sight. It also prohibited the engagement of other Vellai nādar in the Tamil tract to the north of the ghats.

This total prohibition of the Vellai nādar being engaged as workers or / and their transacting business with the Tamils was apparently due to the Vellai nādar acting against the interests of Tamil Vellālas in discharging administrative and accounting functions. From the names Panikkar, Nāyar, Mudaliyār, Mālavarāyan etc., occuring among the offenders, it could be inferred that there was prior to k. 555 free social and even marital connections between the communities in Vellainādu and the Tamil residents in Kalkulam and Vilavancōdu taluks and even across the ghats in Kallidaikuricci. This got distrupted due to the former acting against the interest of the latter. The cause of action is unstated.

The 14th and 15th centuries marked in a sense, a water shed. More of social conflicts between communities artisans the landed gently. The cultivators (Pallar and Paraiyar) and Valangai and Idangai are noticed during the Vijayanagar times. The Vellainādar-Vellāla conflict adds one more dimension to the social upheavels in the pre Vijayanagar Nāyak period.[135]

Feuds and their composition

The Tiruppattūr tract was held among several Chieftains. Feuds were common among them and their families. They resolved their feuds among themselves and covenanted that the foes of one shall be the foes of another. In the 42nd year of Kulōttunga I, Dvārāpati vēlān and Mangaladēvan[136] and Nisadarājan and Dvārāpati Vēlān in the same year covenanted that each shall treat the offender of one as the offender of the other.[137] Mālavacakravarti and Nisadarāyan entered into a corinant to end the enmity between the two in the same year.[138] Another feud had resulted in one family avenging the death of one of its members by killing another in the assassins's family. Le Talions was the recognised law. It was resolved and they agreed to end the enmity between the two.[139] The death of a man was compensated by a blood-grant of 1 *mā* of land at Kunnakkudi.[140] A late instance of a covenant in favour of Rāyakkal Tambirān is noticed in kandadevi.[141]

Crimes and punishment by the community

In the 26th year of Jat. Kulaśēkhara I (AD 1116) Terkālvān nambi and his brother

had offended the King's men and the Ūr (the township - community). Their lands were resumed and endowed as Dēvadāna by order of the Adaḷaiyūr nāḍāḷvān.[142]

In the 22nd year of Mār. Sundara I (AD 1238) the Mūlaparisai Sabhaiyār brought to sale the confiscated lands of certain Bhaṭṭas who had taken advantage of the Hoysāḷa invasion and confusion caused and had stolen from the temple Treasury.[143]

In the AD 1233 the lands of some Brahmins were brought to sale and the chieftain Vāṇakōvaraiyan had taken umbrage that he was offended. Later it was found on enquiry that the Brahmins proceeded against were not at fault, and the Chieftain ordered the restoration of their lands. The Mahāsabhā implemented the orders.[144]

In the 11th year of Jat. Sundara I (AD 1272) one Vāmana Bhaṭṭan was murdered by Satyanāvan enjoining some armed men. He fled the township with his men. His belongings were confiscated to the temple. Vāmana Bhaṭṭan's death was avenged and Satyanāvan was murdered. Later the son of the first culprit submitted to the community that this murder was without his knowledge, and culpability and that he would pay the 800 paṇam being the sale price of his predecessor's belongings and that he might be inducted into possession and he would pay *Kaḍamai* to the temple and the *Ūr* the levy due. The congragation of the temple priests, Srivaiṣṇavas and Śrī Kāryam śeyvār the residents the community as a whole resolved accordingly. This is a conspicuous case of *Lex Talionis* in application.[145]

In Tiruppattūr a Brahmin lady, wife of Sundara Pāṇḍya Bhaṭṭan took poison slaming a Kaikkōḷa Nayinār. This was atoned for but still the blame was foisted on the Kaikkōḷās. A blood grant to compensate for it was made by the Bhaṭṭas granting a piece of land.[146]

A number of instances could be ascribed to the reign of Mār. Kulasekhara I. In the 5th year certain Brahmin occupants in Nṛupaśēkhara cm. had defaulted in payment of land dues. The temple priests had stood surity for the accupancy obligation. (Kuḍipuṇai) The Āṇdars had stood surety for cash (porutpuṇai) In the month of citrai there was a Brahmin assassinated and the Sabhaiyār were called to account. The lands of the defaulting Brahmin occupants were resumed and assigned to the temple on recovering cash for clearing the land dues (*Śikhai*) and for compensation the due on the treachery (*Drōham*) (presumably leading to the assassination of the Brahmin). Eater the defaulters paid back the cash and the Sabhā agreed to restore occupancy-possession of the land. The same treatment was extended to another Brahmin defaulter who paid the amount to another deity Rudrakōtiśvaramuḍaiya nāyanār.[147]

A casual reference to the treatment meted out to one Ponnakaran who was guilty of having killed a Brahmin is recorded in a decision of the Mulaparuḍai Mahā sabhā

of Tiruppattūr in the 13th year of Kulaśēkhara (unidentified). The assassin was tied to the leg of a buffalo (kiḍai) and dragged along the streets. This was the community dispencing justice and the expenses for punishment to be implemented were distributed among the occupants. A merchant who had purchased a land for being endowed for a maṭha was relieved of his share of the distributed levy, as he paid a capitalised amount to cover all his obligations.[148]

In the 23rd year of Mār̤. Kulaśēkhara I (AD 1291) an even more serious crime was dealt with by the same Mahāsabhā of Tiruppattūr.[149] A resident, Valliyāṇḍān Al̤gapperumāl and his brothers had wronged the Brahmin code of conduct (Brahmaṇyaham) He had taken as a wife a Brāhmin widow from a place outside the township, and led family life with her in Tiruppattūr They took and distributed among themselves sandal and food offerings in the temple. They took away the big vessel in which the gur (Karuppukkaṭṭi had been brought for the offerings to the deity, they reduced the land dues arbitrarily from the Dēvadāna holdings, receiving bribes from the villiagers (*Ūrval̤i Kaikkūli*). They cut and took to their own residence for their own use trees standing in Dēvadāna lands. They fore of the yield and dues determined by the Superintendents of the temple in lands that come to yield and they arbitarily reduced the dues and gave the rights to those whom they favoured. The punishment meted out appears to be that the holdings of the offenders were brought to sale and sold to the temples as Candēśvara vilai. The inscription is incomplete and it is not known if any further punishment was awarded.

In the 36th year Mār̤. Kulasekhara I a dispute arose between Valluvanāḍāḷvān and Perumbaṟṟapuliyūr Nambi. The Sabhaiyār of Tiruppattūr gave a grāmamānya land grant. But Nambi stood apart and did not consent. the available sabhaiyār and the temple servants were kept captive inside the temple. For this illegal detention, the holdings of Nambi were given over to Vallavanāḍāḷvān and the jewellery of the temple were redeemed. The lands involved were in dispute for ever 2 years. The Chief Munayadaraiyan led the Sabhaiyār and temple servants before the king. It was decided that as Nambi had not committed any offence the holdings were to be restered to him and instead the Brahmin members of the Sabhā were asked to allot lands in exchange to the temple. Here the King bad faulted the Sabhaiyār and had upheld the demur of Perumbaṟṟappuliyūr Nambi.[150]

A few more instances of assassination of the Brahmins have been recorded in Tiruppattur. In the 5th year of Pāṇḍya Kulaśēkhara (unidentified) a number of members of the same family Cēndasvāmi, son Karaiyūr Kil̤ān. Tiruttaḷikūttan and his brothers and his elder brothers son also named Cēndasvāmi had taken swords and killed Brahmins and done other unworthy acts. For this offence their lands were brought to sale and also their house sites and the purchaser was the temple.[151] A fragment of another

inscription in Tiruppattūr appears to record an identical resumption of lands by the Sabhaiyār of certain offenders.[152]

An occupant was alleged to have defaulted in payment of cash taxes and that he had a joint responsibility. The Sabhaiyār insisted that he should prove his claim of not being liable for the dues by holding a red-hot axe (Paraśu dhāraṇam) which he declined. Hence he was fined 20 *accu* against which he sold some of his holdings. This is dated in the early part of reign of one Vīra Pāṇḍya.[153]

In AD 1387 an accountant in Tiruppattūr Ambalattāḍuvān who had no rights caused a smith and a stonecutter to make a spurious inscription and grant deed that he had a house-site and accountancy and right to other temple honours. This fraud which was a sin against Śiva and the Grāma was detected. The delinquent fled the village. The smith and the stone cutter were banded over to the Kanmāḷar who punished them, and had the necessary amends made agreeable to the temple authorities. The accountancy was sold to three others who were inducted into the office.[154]

Social tensions caused also enmity and killings. The twenty four *Ūrār* in Mēlai Tiruthiyūr muṭṭam had some enmity with Paṟaiyar apparently over some social obligations the latter had. The enmity was resolved by Kāṅgēyan the Chieftain. He decided that the Paṟaiyar shall beat the drums on good and bad occasions. Against this function per head 1 *kalam Tūṇi* paddy shall be measured to the service-holders for every crop whether yield or not. In addition on an auspicies occasion *Padakku* rice and 1 pumpkin shall be given to the paṟaiyar[155] for the drum-beat. This was in Ad 1376.

An adjoining inscription refers to some grants to the Paḷḷar as well which is not intelligible.

It is rather curious that this bunch of records of crimes and delinquencies all come from Tiruppattūr. No section of the community is spared and frauds occured but were detected. The community took steps to punish the offenders according to the penel and moral code prevalent at the time. In most cases cited above, where the crime was committed by the Brahmins the resumption or confiscation of the property by the community and their transfer to the temple often at a price was the mode of punishment. In one case of the murder of the Brahmin the culprit was given corporal punishment being tied to the buffalo and dragged along the street. The stress and strain faced by the community on these occasions of deflection is well brought out.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

The social tensions in Tirupattūr were aggrevated by the Muslim invasions under Malik Kafur and later by other incursions in the 14th and 15th centuries.In the wake

of Kafur's invation, a Muslim Sultanate was established in Madurai and it ruled from AD 1335 to 1378.

The insecurity was felt even in the 44th year of Jat. Vira Pāṇḍya, (who could be in successor of Māṟ. Kulasēkhara I. (AD 1335).

The Mūlaparuḍai Mahāsabhā of Tiruppattūr spld the pāḍi kāval rights to the Sūraikkuḍi chief, Avayan avayan alias Maḷava Chakravarti of Tēnāṟṟuppokku in Adalaiyūr Nāḍu for 250 VāḷālVaḷitirandān paṇam, and he was eligible to get 10 marakkāl of paddy per mā on yielding lands.[A]

In the 46th year in June-July (Mithuna 20th day) the Śrī Rudra Māhēsvara executives, and the temple executives gave an agreement to thel same Avayan Avayan Periyanāyan alias Vijayālayattēvar of Sūraikkuḍi,in the circumstances set out below.[B] (AD 1341).

The times were bad due to the Muslim invasion. The Tirupattūr temple was occupied by the Muslims as a cantonment (Pāḷayam). The deities were descrated. The Sūraikkuḍi Chief renovated the temple and reconscrated the deities. He was made the Chief for Watch and Ward of the temple and privileges were given the special offerings before the deity, the head dress(*parivaṭṭam*) and he be called the Dharmakartā, "Periyanāyan Vijayālayattēvar". He requested that the temple honours be granted in the name of the township in which he was born, and this was granted in the name of 'Sūraikkuḍi *Ūrār*'. He was also granted paddy per mā of yielding lands in all Dēvadāna holdings and townships and lands held in the name of the deity.

Next month,[C] the *Mahāsabhā* of Tiruppattūr also gave an agreement to the same Chieftain, who had saved the temple and the township at the time when the Muslims occupied the temple and the temple and the *Ūr* got destroyed. Out of their gratitude theydecided within a circle of 3 kāḍams in their township on yielded lands, they shall give per mā measured by thel rod Kuḍitāngi, one headload of unthreshed paddy bundle (Talaiyadu sumaiyāga oru Kaṭṭu sūḍum)–

for varagu	...	1 head load of bundle;
for gingelly	...	Padakku gingelly; and
Tinai	...	3 kuṟuṇi per sey of field.

The Sūraikkuḍi Chieftains had been dislodged from their home-townships and they ultimately settled in Kōvilūr (near Kāraikkuḍi) and were prominently associated with that temple.[D] They had gained the gratitude of the Tiruppattūr temple and township by the benevolent acts.

In the 22nd year of Jaṭ. Vīra, the temple authorities had given a sale deed as an 'Uḻavuttavaṇai' (as an inducted cultivating tenant) for Rāsi paṇam 1000/- a holding

called Muḷai kaṭṭu vayal to one Aḷagiyal Nambiyār alias Pallavarāyar of Muttūr alias Uyyakkoṇḍacōḷanallūr in Muttūṟṟukkuṟṟam.[E]

But Aḷagiya Nambiyār did not give the vāram (1/2share of the produce) and the lands were lying waste. Hence, the Śrī Rudra Māhēsvarās, the temple executives and the Maṭha authorities and the priests sold the same land on the same tenure as Uḷavuttavaṇai, to a scion of the Śūraikkuḍi Chief Senbagarāyar Parākrama Pāṇḍya Vijayālayattēvar alias Ariyarāyar and others in AD 1422 in the reign of Jaṭ Vikrama including the house dsites for Āḍurapaṇam 200. The vendees shall cultivate the lands and render the vāram (1/2 share of the produce) to the deity.[F]

In both the transactions the Kīḻ Vārappaccal was not levied on the lands and as such it was not demanded.

The episode brings out the external intrusion of Muslim and how the Sūraikkuḍi Chief saved the township, and renovated the temple. The township and the temple authoriltìes showed their gratitude by conferring temple honojurs and privileges, Pāḍi kāval rights, and finally the 'cultivating rilghts' on certain Dēvadāna lands on the scion of the family of Śūraikkuḍi Chieftains.

Social privilege were also often a matter that caused agitation. But composition of differences and extension of concessions to accommodate the less privileged were also noticed. In addition to the Tiruppattūr experience cited, two records from Paḷani Taluk bear testimony. In the 13th year of Koṅgu Cōḷa Vikrama the Iḍaiyar (shepherds) of Kīranūr alias Koḷumaṅgoṇḍa Cōḷanallūr were granted the following privileges. In building their houses they could have among others a threshold, step and a door and plaster their walls. On auspicious occasion they can use a palanquin (Tandu) For inauspicious occasion they could use a pallet. They could wear green apparel (Paccai paṭṭu, Puliyūr paṭṭu Pattāva paṭṭu) they could cover the corpse in the pallet. They could engage pipers and drummers for good and bad occasions. These are in addition to all customary privilleges (*Variśai*)[156]

The second instance is from Periyakōṭṭai, also in Paḷani Taluk. The residents of Kariyadēvanallūr were granted the privilege of constructing double storied house, sounding of drums on auspicious occasions or otherwise and some others which are unclear.[157] There are gaps in the epigraph.

Artisans and their privileges.

Individual artisans for temple servants were granted some privileges or honours. The Nagara of Pūlam alias Rājarājapuram in the 14th year of Māṟ. Sundara sold lands to the temple. Out of the lands sold it set apart I *mā.* of land to the Ācaryan (the carpenter or stone mason) as Āchāryabhōgam for his enjoyment.[158]

In Tirunelvēli in the 12th year of Mār. Sundara the artisans stone mason their superintendents who distribute their work among them and the smiths (Kollan) all granted their respective shares of emoluments for the benefit of a head of the Matha so that he could engage his own workmen.[159] The artisans were the hereditary service holders in the temple at Tirunelvēli. The superintendents in-charge of the allocation of work gave their (Dasaippēru-corrupt for Dasappēru) in cash and paddy of $^1/_{10}$ as Dharmadāna. This was in lieu of 1 *accu* which was remitted to the temple treasury. The chief Viravinōda ācāryar had ordered that the head of the matha shall be free to engage his own workmen. A number of stone masons including the chief have attested the grant.

The stone masons gave their 1/8 share and two sections of smiths gave their share of 1/6 in the same manner. A number of the smiths were illiterates, including the Nagara Kollan. Others signed for them. Illiteracy was often noticed among the soldiery, the Maravar and the artisans. But that was no bar to their participating in the community and township affairs and public transactions creating or renouncing rights.[160]

Four years later (16th year) in Tirunelvēli the Śirpācāriyan (the sculptors) had made over their 1/8 share of cash and paddy in favour of the head of the matha, receiving 2 accu. The grant was inclusive of the share received by the stone-masons who were responsible for the supply of stone for the works. The head of the matha could himself arrange for the works from the 6th basement (*Ārāṅg kalpadai*) and the flat level stone work and the load-bearing works (*Mattakkāl* and *Bāram* including works.[161] In this document all the subscribers were literates.

There was a guild (to use the form loosely) or group of artisans - stonemasons, smiths and others who had their Chief to assign or allocate works among them. They had their distinct share of the compensation in cash and grain which varied among the different types of artisans. They were bound to do all the work in the temple and had a preferential claim for works in the township. Others who commissioned their works like the Matha had to offer the right of forst acceptance, to the service-holders of the temple and the township. These other works could be executed by others only on relinquishment of the hereditary artisans, which could be had on a commuted (perhaps concessional) amount paid to them or the temple under whom they had their service tenure.

Benefactors and those who rendered services to the community were recognised and granted privileges. One such grant was by the Rathakāra of Maṅgalavāsaccēri in Pāndi Mandalam to a Dāsar (Nambi) in an inscription at Poykkaraippatti (near Alagarkōil)[162] An undated inscription at Tirukkalakkudi of the reign of Mār. Sundara I gives an interesting episode - Tamila pallavaraiyar (perhaps who hailed from

Rājavillipuram in Kīḻavēmbunāḍu) had installed a new Aḻudaiyanācciyār deity at Tirukkaḷakkuḍi temple. A Śivabrahmaṇa Poṟkōil Bhaṭṭan enthusiastically collected donations, took steps to get lands tax-free and for the construction of the shrine. Hence Kāṅgēyarāyan ordered that he may be given 4 *nāḻi* of food offerings made to the deity.[163] But in the 13th year of the reign Tamiḻapallavaraiyan reported to the King that the temple authorities had discontinued the supply of rice. It was restored to the Śivabrāhmaṇa and his successors for all time by a royal order[164] which was sent as a written communication to the Sthānattān.

Civil rights and community decisions

We may conclude this chapter, noticing the evidence on civil rights and customary regulations of the community.

The temple services were hold in shares. The priests had each his share in rotation in a month.[165] Their Arcanābhōgam shares could be mortgaged or sold and even granted as Dharmadāna subject to such successors in title also discharging the obligations that had fallen to or undertaken by the principal.[166]

One Śeḻiyakōnār, had purchased land and endowed it for a lamp service himself undertaking to pay taxes and render obligations. But he failed to pay *Kaḍamai*. Two agnates of the original occupant were asked to make good the default as on seeing Seḻiyakōnar's grand-deed many cautioned that let there be no transgression of the moral standards (Dharmavirōdam). The agnates replied that let the donor be brought to account. But he did not stand forth to discharge the obligations. The agnates of the original occupants agreed to finally make good the default. This was in the early part of the reign of Jaṭ. Kulaśēkhara I.[167]

The Śrīrudras of the temple at Tirumālugandānkoṭṭai had given an interesting decision. If any grown up ladies in their community had no male issue and if their daughters get married and went to other places, the head of the family had to deliver 2 nāḻi of paddy per day per individual who had so left if this was defaulted 1½ *mā.* of land on the middle taram (neither the top nor the bottom Taram) out of his holding shall be borne (but the text is lost). If the girls were given in marriage from that day the girl shall not be entitled to paddy. If the grownup girls died and their absequies performed the lands given to them shall revert in the male persons who gave the land who had their turn of duty in the temple. These regulations have been agreed upon apparently to ensure that if there went no male heirs, still the services were performed without any let up.[168]

A family partition deed was executed by Rājanārāyanadēvan in the same place among 2 (sons) and 1 daughter, 3 *mā.* each for 2 sons, 7 *mā* of wet land to his daughter,

besides black soil lands. 2 housesites were also to be shared by all the three. The share of the daughter is more.[169]

Women's right to property was clearly recognised. They could also inherit Sridhana which they could dispose of.[170] Bigamy even among Brahmins as at Cōlāntaka Cn[171] and polygamy among Chieftains were common.

We may finally note a very important decision of Ś. 1303 (AD 1381) recorded at Kōvilūr. In the month of Tai Gāngēyarāja gathered several Brahmin residents from various places far and near and settled the scale of gifts which the Brahmins shall adopt at the time of giving their daughter in marriage apart from giving them away with pouring water. The gathering decided the following agreeable to the Dharma and times. *(Dharmatiukkum Kālatakkum Porunda)* For marriage presents and ornaments 8 *Kaḷañju* of gold and silver (vessels) 8 *Kaḷañju* were fixed. If any one exceeded these limits and accepted any larger value of gold and silver, eager to grate money he shall not (be deemed to be) a Brahmin. The was subscribed to 6, the Brahmins from afar, the resident Brahmins Cēdiyarāyan the Chieftain and few others.[172]

This should be considered one of the early dowry regulations setting certain permissible limits

The chapter traverses a wide spectrum of social institutions, customs and manners and mode of dispensing criminal and civil justice and equity. To breathe the contemporary flavour, and reflect the spirit of equity and composition by the community, the wording closely follows the text. The impress of the collective decisions, with hardly any demur is noteworthy in the decisions. The manner in which they were arrived at brought out the self regulating procedure of the Community. Yet the influence and initiative of the King and his Chieftains were felt. They did not hesitate to interfere and restore balance and equity, if the community could not or did not ensure it.

FOOT NOTES TO APPENDIX TO CHAPTER X :

1. Please see *infra* op . . . .
2. "Rājēndra Viṇṇagar" - pp. 27-28
3. "The Collected Papers" - p. 140
4. 397 / 1916, Please see "Rājēndra Viṇṇagar".
5. SII XIV - 88.
6. 311 / 1928.
7. 312 / 1928.
8. 8 / 1926.
9. SII XXVI - 532, 533, 534. This Chief had installed a goddess in the temple at Tirukkaḷakkuḍi in the reign of Māṟ. Sundara I (AD 1231) - please see 78, 79, 84 and 88/1916).
10. 48 / 1929. Śivapuri.
11. 178 / 1936. Tiruppattūr.
12. 50 / 1929. Śivapuri.
13. 116 / 1948. Tiruppattūr.
14. 35 / 1916.
15. 38 / 1916.
16. 202 / 1980-81.
17. 197 / 1980-81.
18. SII V / 301. Also 62/1905.
19. The ayacuts referred to occur in Kōil Kuruvittuṟai. Please see my "Collected Papers - pp. 110 ff.
20. 60 / 1905.
21. 4 / 1915.
22. SIIV / 295.
23. 121 / 1910. Tenkarai.
24. 122 / 1910.
25. 124 / 1910.
26. 126 / 1910.
27. SII V - 303.
28. 239 / 41-42. This prince (Piḷḷai) figures in 248/1941-42.
29. 265 / 1941-42.
30. SII VIII / 423.

31. NA / 1990-91 - Mēlamangalam.

31A. SII CIV - 162.

32. 356 / 1916, cofer 355 / 1916.

33. 355 / 1916.

34. 358 / 1916.

35. 357 / 1916.

36. 353 / 1916.

37. 347 / 1916.

38. 351 / 1916.

39. 353 / 1916.

40. 359 / 1916. The ARE abstract gives the name as Pagalilipperumal.

(ii) At padakku per day, the annual compensation works out to $60^5/_6$ kalams. It is doubtful if ½ mā could yield that much of paddy, unless otherwise supplemented.

41. 361 / 1916.

42. Amalanādipirān - 5. Īḍu vyakhyāna (Ed - S. Krishnaswami Iyengar) pp. 60-61

43. 292, 293, 294 / 1941 - Tirunelvēli.

44. SII V / 420.

45. SII V / 421.

46. SII V / 418.

47. 652 / 1916. Śērmādēvi.

48. SII XXIII - 95

49. 658 / 1916.

50. 22 / 1912.

51. SII XXVI - 471.

52. SII V - 424.

53. SII XXIII - 117.

54. 431 / 1916. Attāḷanallūr.

55. 523 / 1958. Āḻvārtirunagari.

56. SII XXVI - 489, 490.

57. 355 / 1959-60.

58. 279, 280, 281 / 1930.

59. 547 / 1922.

60. 546 / 1922.

61. SII XXVI - 523.
62. 298 / 1955-56.
63. For the history of this township, please see my "Collected Papers" - p. 126 ff.
64. 583, 564 / 1916.
65A. 576, 566, 509 / 1916.
66. 576 / 1916.
67. 203, 204, 205 / 1932-33.
68. 566 / 1916, Also TAS IX, pp. 15, 16.
69. Ibid.
70. 578 / 1916.
71. 564 / 1916.
72. 509 / 1916.
73. 585 / 1916.
74. 582 / 1916.
75. 583 / 1916.
76. 579 / 1916.
77. Please see my 'Pudukkōṭṭai Studies' - p. 303.
78. 269, 270 / 1940-41.
79. 243 / 1923.
80. SII XXVI - 108 (Vaṭṭeḷuttu - 10th century)
81. 244 / 1950-51.
82. 33 / 46-47.
83. 475 / 1930. Āttūr.
84. 304 / 62-63. Ōṭṭappiḍāram.
85. 414 / 1916 (Kollam 662)
86. 706 / 1916 - Śērmādēvi.
87. 707 / 1916 - Śērmādēvi.
88. 338, 340 / 1916 - Tiruvāiīśvaram.
89. 556 / 1916.
90. SII XXVI - 493, 494, 495.
91. SII XXIII - 436.
92. SII XIV - 234.
93. 99 / 1908.

94. 565/1922.
95. SII XIV - 237.
96. 8/1928-29. - Dalapatisamudram.
97. 597/1916 - Pattamaḍai.
98. 444, 445, 446, 451, 427/1930.
99. 66, 67/1917.
100. 50/1927 - Tirunelvēli.
101. 276/1941-42.
102. 25/1929 - Śivapuri.
103. 24/1929.
104. 364/1920-30 - Vaḷḷiyūr.
105. 370/1916.
106. A late inscription refers to the metrilinear inheritance among dancing girls by referring to the mother as "Pitā-stre". 410/1916 (Tiruppuḍaimarudur)
107. 42/1927 - Tirunelvēli.
108. 600/1915.
109. 412, 421/1916.
110. The card index is not traceable. It is recollected that this inscription was in Tiruppattūr Taluk.
111. 333/1923.
112. 695/1916.
113. 62/1927.
114. 335/1959-60.
115. 327/1916.
116. 636/1917.
117. 546/1922.
118. SII XXVI - 491.
119. 644/1917.
120. 298/1923, 304/1923.
121. 3/1931-32.
122. 14/1931-32.
123. Please see "Rājēndra Viṇṇagar" - p. 22.
124. 363/1916.
125. 336 / 1916.

126. 368 / 1916.

127. 80, 81 / 1927, Tirunelvēli.

128. Please see supra (Chapter IX)
Also Caturvēdimaṅgalam - 308, 309 / 1928.
Tiruppattūr - 119, 120 / 1908.
Tirukkaḷakkuḍi - 50 / 1916.

129. 602 / 1906.

130. 42 / 1909 - SII XXIII / 460.

131. 119, 120 / 1908.

132. I am indebted to the State Director of Archaeology, Kerala State for the identification of Veḷḷai nāḍu. The Veḷḷai nāḍar should not be confused with the Nāḍars, as rightly stated in the confused with the Nāḍārs, as rightly stated in the Travancore Annual Report of ME 1096 - (p. 90) Also TAS V pp. 90-22.

133. TAS V pp. 90-92.

134. 325 / 1916.

135. For eg. AI / 1936-37. (AD 1433)

Also	596 / 1926 -	Srīvilliputtūr (Vīrappanāyaka)
	718 / 1916 -	Śērmādevi - AD 1544.
	2 / 1923 -	Kondagai - AD 1545.
	163A / 1936 -	Tiruppattūr - AD 1575.
	303 / 1916 -	Ambāsamudram - AD 1623.
	378 / 1916 -	Brahmadēśam - AD 1625.
	379 / 1916 -	Brahmadēśam - AD 1622.
	A2-1936-37 -	Śrīvilliputtūr - AD 1745.
	432 / 1914 -	Śaṅkarankōil - Viśvāvasu.
	588 / 1926 -	Śrivilliputtūr - Viśvāvasu.

136. 65 / 1929.

137. 55 / 1929.

138. 534 / 1962-63 - Tiruppattūr.

139. 140 / 1936 - Piḷḷaiyārpaṭṭi.

140. 411 / 1954-55.

141. 340 / 1949-50.

142. 322 / 1923 - Tirukkōṭṭiyūr.

143. 170 / 1936 - Tiruppattūr.

144. 309 / 1928 - Caturvēdimaṅgalam.

145. 301, 302, 303 / 1923.

146. 172 / 1936.

147. 21 / 1929.

148. 104 / 1908 - Tiruppattūr.

149. 125 / 1908.

150. 133 / 1908 - Tiruppattūr.

151. 185 / 1936.

152. 534A / 1962-63.

153. 164 / 1936.

154. 126, 127 / 1908.

155. 69 / 1924 - Periccikōil.

A – 155-A 122 / 1908

B – 155-B 120 / 1908

C – 155-C 119 / 1908

D – 155-D. On this please see "The vicissitudes of visayaccilai-pp.156-161. The "Collected papers", especially pp. 160-161

E – 155-E. 128 / 1908

F – 155-F. 124 / 1908

156. SII V / 283.

157. SII XXIII / 463.

158. 260 / 1941.

159. 295 / 1941, Tirunelvēli.

160. Eg. 102 / 1916 - Tirukkaḷakkuḍi.

Sannavanam - 29 / 1916.

161. 296 / 1961.

162. 222 / 1938-39.

163. 87 / 1916 - Tirukkaḷakkuḍi.

164. 88 / 1916.

165. Eg. SII XIII / 167-168.

166. SII V - 756.

167. 275 / 1941 - Kuṟumbūr.

168. 52 / 1931-32 - Tirumālugandankōṭṭai.

169. 53 / 1931-32.

170. SII V - 300. Tenkarai.

171. SII V - 297.

172. 526 / 1962-63 - Kōvilūr.

Chapter XI

Gleanings of the economic conditions in the Pāṇḍyan Townships in the 10th to the 13th Centuries.

This chapter attempts to glean the available evidence on the economic conditions in the Pāṇḍyan Townships. Already in the chapters above, an attempt to portray the agararian economy, The land yield, the community's economic effort and outlay on charitable endowments, the agrarian distress due to natural calamities, the heavy burden on land dues, their variety, in kind and in services, the exactions by chieftains and modes of relief afforded have been brought out in vivid detail.

This chapter attempts to marshal evidence on the exchange ratios, the interest rates in vogue, the wage workers wage levels for specific categories of workers and the land sale prices besides the price levels especially the relative gradation of prices for the different commodities. The level of wages for the professionals and the yield of cows is also assessed.

This is a pioneer effort in some respects. The task is beset with inherent difficulties. For one thing the evidence is in parenthesis. For another, to establish the correlation between the coinage occurring in the inscription and the value of each or their nexus, numismatic studies required have not progressed alongside and adequately. The evidence mentioned here can, to some extent, be suggestive of the intensive work still to be done. Hence the attempt is to chronologically arrange the data as culled from the epigraphs, but they need to be worked out in further detail with further and sustained advance in numismatic studies.

I. Exchange ratios.

In Ānaimalai, one Īḷakkāsu equalled 7½ new akkam in AD 939.[1]

In AD 1011, in the reign of Rājarāja I, a kāśu has been held equal to 8 akkam. It could fetch 7 kalams of paddy in Gaṅgaikoṇḍān.[2]

In AD 1092 in Āttur, 1 kāśu was equal to 7 2/3 Dramam.[3]

In a 10th century inscription[4], and in the reign of Cōḻa Kulōttuṅga I (AD 1110)[5] · 1 kāśu was equal to 7 Dramam[5].

In the 41st year of Kulōttuṅga I also (AD 1111), 1 kāśu equalled 7 Dramams at Tirukoṣtiyur also.[6] In the 13th year of Māṟ Sundara I accu was equal (meni) to 13 Dramam. The term "mēni dramam" refers to the exchange ratio between Kāśu and Dramam.

3 Accu were equal to 39 Dramam.[7] But the ratio varies from time to time and at different places. perhaps this might be attributed to the velocity of circulation and age of the dramam. The older it was the lesser its value in relation to the kāśu.

In AD 1237 (Mār. Sundara I - 21st year) in Śālaigrāmam 21 1/2 kaḻañju have been equated with 10 5/8 ānai accu.

This gives a ratio of 2 kaḻañju is equal to 1 anai accu.[8]

In Circa AD 1286 in the reign of Mār Vikrama in Alagarkōil 1 ānai accu equalled 3 paḻaiya kāśu.[9]

In the 14th year of Mār Kulaśēkhara (AD 1282), 5 1/2 varāhans equalled 55 paṇam at Giriyambālpuram.[10]

In AD 1300, (32nd year of Mār Kulaśēkhara I), 1 accu was equal to 100 paṇam.[11]

In Tiruvādavūr a Kōnērinmaikoṇḍan grant gives the equation of 1 3/4 accu to 102 3/16 (mūnṟu māmukkāṇi paṇam). 1 accu thus equals roughly 59-60 paṇam.[12]

In the same place in the 9th year of Parākrama Pāṇḍya, 1 paḻampon equalled 10 Rāśipaṇam.[13]

These illustrate the variety of the currencies and how they had changed from time to time. But more than one form of currency was current at one and the same time.

The Dramam was a lower denomination like the akkam and was long in use, though its exchange value, as noticed above, fluctuated and depreciated. The exchange ratio also varied. As noticed in an earlier chapter, it was varied deliberately to confer concessional terms to tenants or occupants for paying cash levies due.

II. Interest rates

The interest rates could be gleaned from the deposits against which the supply of paddy or ghee had to be made for the interest - equivalent. Here again, the intrinsic value or exchange value of the various coinage in use during the study period pose problems. Hence we have to work backwards from the rate of supply of ghee or paddy and assume, the rates being the same, that the different coinages have more or less equal or comparable purchase value. But, the measures used in different townships and even within the same township varied and the assumption that the liquid measure are uniform may also be vitiated. Sometimes the measure used is specified but more often.

There are, of course some exceptional cases which are not explicable in the present state of our knowledge. Also, the rate of paddy equivalent of interest has varied from one place to another and from time to time.

The data are tabulated in Table I for clarity. The inferences that can be drawn are set out below:

11 kāśu of Rājendra Cōḷa I's reign are equal to 15, 36, 10, 12 kāśu in different reigns of Cōḷa Pāṇḍyas in the same location at Ambāsamudram and Śērmādēvi. The deposit for a wick for the lamp was one kāśu in Ambāsamudram but by AD 1101 it was ½ kāśu at Āttūr.

In the reign of Jat Kulasekhara (1190-1217) 1 accu had an interest yield of 4-3 kalams in 1203 - 1204. The paddy equivalent of interest has declined by 1205 and it was as high as 25% against paddy deposit.

In Māṟ Sundarā I's reign, at Tiruvālīśvaram interest equivalent to paddy was 5 kalams per accu. But in Kalliḍaikuṟicci for 7 accus deposited, the paddy equivalent was less about 2 4/7 kalams. Again for 7 1/2 accus deposited 91 1/4 nāḷi of ghee was supplied at Vaḷudiyūr in AD 1235 which is exceptionally low. So too in AD 1267 in Śērmādēvi 1 accu yielded only kalams of paddy by way of interest by 6 nāḷi-measure.

In the regin of Māṟ Kulaśēkhara deposits of 3 Nallānai accu, and 100 panams respectively yielded the same quantum of ghee. The rate of interest by way of paddy for paddy deposits was about 19-19·%.

In the 16th century, 160 Kaliyugarāman paṇam were needed as deposit the interest of which was adequate for the standard quantum of ghee of 91¼ nāḷi. A kōṭṭai (2 kalams) of paddy needed 35 5/7 paṇam in AD 1578.

If the 160 paṇams deposit can be considered equal to 25 cows or 50 cost 5 2/5 paṇam, and a sheep 3 2/10 in AD 1531.

The Cōḷiyapalaṅkāśu deposited needed was more at about 50 for 1 lamp. In AD 1286, 1 accu was equal to 3 paḷankāśu and 33 paḷankāśu deposited in Aḻagarkōil yielded 91¼ nāḷi of ghee. In Tenkarai (Vaigai belt) 1 accu had paddy-equivalent of interest of 2 tūṇi and 1 kuṟuṇi in Jat Vikrama's reign.

In the Paḷani area 1 toḷai kalañju was deposited to fee 1 lamp.

It can be inferred that the ruling interest rate for deposit for religous and charitable endowments ranged from about 19 to 25% and exceptionally as in Ānaimalai, during Parantaka's time at 405. By and large the scale of ghee or paddy yield supply had been constant and the variations in coinage and their value should account for the variations, but on the assumption that the measure used is the same.

Table I

Table of Interest rates (chronologically arranged)

Reference (1)	Place of occurence (2)	Reign & date (3)	Exchange/ interest rate (4)	Ghee interest equivalent per day/ per year (5A)	Paddy rate (5B)	Rate derived (6)
708/1916	Śērmādēvi	Cōḷa Rājēndra Cōḷa - year 4 AD 1016	15 kāśu : 6 Īḻakkāśu kāśu 6 : half lamp	At āḻākku per day 45 5/8		per kāśu 7½ + 548 nāḻi
SII V/729	Gaṅgaikoṇḍān Tirunelvēli Dt.	Rājendra I 7 AD 1019	Kāśu 11	91½ nāḻi		per kāśu = 8 3/11 + 1/44 nāḻi Roughly 1 lamp =
SII V/757	Śērmādēvi	Cōḻapāṇḍya Jaṭ: Sundara 12 AD 1029	36 kāśu	91½ nāḻi		per kāśu 2½ nāḻi or 2 77/144 nāḻi
SII XIV/140	Ambāsamudram	Cōḻapāṇḍya Sundara 10(?)	15 kāśu 1 kāsu for wick	91½ nāḻi		6 1/12 nāḻi per kāsu
SII XIV/162B	"	Cōḻapāṇḍya Jat. Sundara Date NA	10 kāśu		10 kalam	1 kāśu = 1 kalam interest yield.
SII XIV/190	Śērmādēvi	Māṟ Vikrama (25)	12 kāśu	91½ ghee		Per kāśu = 7 7/12 + 1/48
SII XIV/230	Āttūr	Tirumadandai Jat. Srīvallabha II AD 1101	8½ kāśu + ½ kāśu wick			For feeding occasional pilgrims

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5A)	(5B)	(6)
714/1916	Sērmādēvi	Jat. Kulaśēkhara 9 + 3 (12) AD 1202	1 accu		4 kalams per year	4 kalams
549/1911	Kōvilkuḷam	Jat. Kulaśēkhara 13 AD 1203	10 accu		4 kalams per year	40 kalams per 10 accu 1 accu = 4 kalams
547/1916	Pattamaḍai	Jat. Kulaśēkhara 13 + 1 : 1204	3 accu		9 kalams	1 accu = 3 kalams
548/1916	"	Jat.(?) Kulaśēkhara 13 +1 +1 1205(?)	8 accu		18 kalams	2 nāḷi rice = 5 nāḷi paddy per day. Per year : 5 x 365 = 18 kalams 1 accu : 2½ kalam
465/1916	Giriyambālpuram	Jat. Kulaśēkhara 15 AD 1205	60 kalams		180 kuṟuṇi	Per kalam = 3 kuṟuṇi 25%
SII XVIII/99	Kallidaikkuṟicci	Jat. Kulaśēkhara 13 + 12 AD 1214-15	16 Accu		4 nāḷi rice per day	4 nāḷi = 10 nāḷi paddy. For 1 year = 33 kalams per accu 2 3/8 kalams.
689/1916	Śērmādēvi	Jat. Kulāśekhara 14 + 4 = 28 1217 - 8	3 accu		12 kalams per year	1 accu = 4 kalams
333/1916	Tiruvālīsvaram	Jat. Kulaśēkhara year lost	2 accu		9½ kalams	1 accu = 4¾ kalams

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5A)	(5B)	(6)
358/1916	Tiruvālīsvaram	Māṟ. Sundara I 3 AD 1219	4 accu		10 kalams per crop (x2) = 20 kalams)	1 accu = 5 kalams
344/1916	"	4th AD 1220	1 accu		5 kalams	-do-
353/1916	"	5th AD 1221	-do-		-do-	-do-
Also 354/1916	"	AD 1221	-do-		-do-	-do-
SII XXIII 100	Kallidaikkuṟicci	Māṟ. Sundara I 5th AS 1220-21	7 accu 1 accu for lamp		17 and odd kalams	2 4/7 kalams per accu (Low)
489/1916	Vaḻudiyūr	Māṟ. Sundara I 19 AD 1220-21	7½ accu	91½ nāḻi	–	Per accu 12¼ nāḻi of ghee
489/1916	Tiruvālīsvaram	Sundara Pandya 7	1 accu		5 kalams	5 kalams
343/1916	Tiruvālīsvaram	Māṟ. Sundara yr. lost	1 accu		5 kalams	5 kalams
342/1911	"	Tri Dēvar 13	"		"	Mār. Sundara I (?)
SII V/422	Tirunelvēli	Māṟ. Sundara I yr. lost	25 accu		120 kalams for 2 crops	4 4/5 kalams per accu per year
447/1930	Āttūr	Māṟ. Sundara I 17 + 7 = 24 AD 1239-40	3 accu		22½ kalams	Per accu 7.6 kalams

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5A)	(5B)	(6)
SII V/749	Sērmādēvi	Jat. Vīra I 14 AD 1267	20 accu		40 kalams	1 accu ṇ 2 kalams by 6 nāḻi kāl.
377/1972-73	Taruvai	Māṟ. Kulasēkhara 25 AD 1293	15 paṇams		3.8 kalams	6 2/5 nāḻi for paṇam
692/1916	Sērmādēvi	Māṟ. Kulasēkhara	Nallāṇai 3 accu	91¼ nāḻi ghee		Per accu 30½ nāḻi
416/1916	Tiruppuḍai marudūr AD 1300	Māṟ. Kulasēkhara I 32	100 paṇams	-		$\frac{73}{80}$ nāḻi per paṇam
417/1916	,,	,,	,,	,,	–	,,
314/1916	Kallidaikkuṟicci	K 653	105 kōṭṭai AD 1477 (Tiruvaḍi chiefs)	paddy	19½ kōṭṭai	18 4/7%
315/1916	,,	,,	101 kōṭṭai paddy		19½ kōṭṭai	19½%
464/1917	Kuṟṟālam	S 1457	Kaliyugarāman paṇams 160	19½ nāḻi	160 paṇams 25 cows; 50 sheep if the price can be derived. 6 2/5 paṇam for cow 3 2/10 paṇam for sheep	
715/1916	Śērmādēvi	K 676 = S 1500 AD 1578	250 paṇam		1 kōṭṭai = $\frac{250}{7}$ = 35 $\frac{5}{7}$ paṇam	

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5A)	(5B)	(6)
RAMNAD DT.						
118/1908	Tirupattūr	Kulaśēkhara	3(3) Paḷaṅkāśu	5/8 lamp		1 lamp = 53 Paḷaṅkāśu
102/1908	Tirupattūr	15th year	Coḷiya paḷaṅ kasu 50	1 lamp		Also is 95/1908 (Kulaśēkhara)
MADURAI DT.						
297/1930	Aḻagarkōil	Māṟ. Vikrama 2 + 1 = 3 AD 1286	3 accu 8 accu 11 accu	9 1¼ nāḻi		1 Accu = 3 paḷaṅ kāśu
S II V/299	Tenkarai	Jat. Vikrama 4	6 accu		Per yr. 4 kalams Tūṇi Padakku	1 accu = 2 Tūṇi kuṟuṇi
275/63-64	Nallamaṟam (Tirumaṅgalam Tk.)	Māṟ. Sundara 10	3 accu 1 " 4			For 2 lamp services per Sandhyadipa
S II V/279	Kīranūr (Paḷani Tk.)	Vīra Rājēndra (Koṅgu Cōḷa)	Tulai = 1 lamp (9 1¼ nāḻi)			1 lamp = 9 1¼ nāḻi ghee
II / 280	"	"	"			"
S II XXIII	Periakōṭṭai (Paḷani)	Jat. Sundara 4	12 paṇams		1 kalam 1 Tuni	9 5/6 nāḻi per paṇam

III. Wages

Some idea of the prevailing wages can be culled out of the epigraphic evidence. These data necessarily pertain to the temple servants and garden tenders or those employed for other such services in the temple. There were usually service tenure lands attached. In certain cases wages by way of paddy and clothing or cooked rice were also provided. The cooked rice supplied might be in addition to the service tenure lands. For the data collected and presented below, the relative gradation of the services can be ascertained. As far as is ascertainable, the data are presented in chronological sequence. But the provision made cannot be considered absolute as it has to be taken with other service tenure lands and privileges which are not stated in totality.

Table 2

A

SII III

106

Madurai

Anamalai -Parakēsari Parāntaka I 33rd year.

Deposit 15 Īḷakkasu - interest 6 Īḷakkasu - 40% rate of interest

Scale of feeding :

10 : 8 : paddy to rice recovery - 2 nāḷi

3 curries : curds nāli

Ghee - 2 śevidu

Betel, nuts - 2

To cook = daily 5 nāḷi and 1 cloth for 6 months

(Per year 18 kalams less 3 nāḷi of paddy and a pair of cloth).

B

SII XIV/95

Ambāsamudram	Cōḷan Talaikoṇḍa Vīra Pāṇḍya AD 966
Acāriyar	½ (vēli)
Kaṇakkabhandāram (Treasury & Accounts)	(vēli)
Man 8	1½ vēli = 2 mā
Bachelor servants	(4 mā each) and 6/7 kūṟu of Paḍuvāram capital for clothing.
Piper troupe	1/7 of Paḍuvāram as capital for clothing.
Piper troupe 10	1¼ (vēli) (2½ mā per individual)
Śrī Kāryam Superintendent	7 mā (to yield per day 4 nāḻi rice)
Potter	2 mā
Fuel-supplier	2 mā
Cleaner	2 mā
Washerman	2 mā
Stone mason	¼ vēli or 5 mā

C

SII V/724

Gaṅgaikoṇḍān	Cōḻa Rājarāja I - 26th year AD 1011	
	Per day	Per year
Gardener - Plaiter of flowers	4 nāḻi	15 5/24 kalams
Tiruvārādanai priest (Brahmit)	Capital for clothing 2 kāśu	
Garden tender, planter (women)	4 ākkam (½ kāśū)	
Clothing	per 2 - 3 ākkam	
	per 1 - ½ ākkam	

	Kuruvāl Kūli	3 nāḷi (being interest on tūṇi, 1 tūṇi, 1 nāḷi, uḻakku or 33¼ nāḷī, i.e., 9	

1/11%.

(confer 8 1/3% at Tiruvālīśvaram below)

D

SII XIV			
191, 192	Āttūr	Cōḻapāṇḍya-Māṛ, Vikrama	
		Per day	Per year
	Flower supplier	4 nāḷi	15 5/24 kalams
	Firewood supplier	1 nāḷi	3 77/96 kalams
	Tiruvārādanai (Brahmin)	Kuṟuṇi	3½ kalams
	Sivabrāhmanan	2 nāḷi per head	7 29/40 kalams

E

ARE 214/1953	Peruṅgulam	Kulōttuṅga I 31. AD 1101.	
		Per day	Per year
	Garden tender	Kuṟuṇi Paddy	30 Kalam, 5 Kuṟuṇi.
	Capital for cloth to be supplied	10 Dramams per year (presently 1 kāśu - 10 Dramam)	

F

SII XIV/238	Tirupattūr	Jat. Śrīvallabha - 17th year (AD 1107)
	Gardener	2 kuṟuṇi per day 60 kalams, 10* kuṟuṇi, 1 kuṟuṇi 2 Tūṇi
	Capital for clothing	1 kāśu per year

*(Note : In such close proximity, the wages of a gardener could not have doubled. Perhaps the measure was varied).

G

ARE 370 1926	Tiruvālīśvaram	Jat. Kulaśēkhara I 3 + 1 = AD 1194
	Kuṟuvai (dehusking work women)	Per kalam of paddy kuṟuṇi paḍdy 8 1/3%

H

633 1916	Śērmādēvi	Jat. Kulaśēkhara 16 (AD 1206)
	Priests	Kalam 3 kuṟuṇi
	Pipers (Uvaccer)	2 Tūṇi
	Potters (Kusavan)	Kalam

I

697 1916	Śērmādēvi	Date & ruler not available.

Land endowed to be reclaimed for the maintenance of a garderner 1 mā mukkāṇi

Alternatively, a share of the food-offerings were made oer to them (691/1916).

J

308 1949-50	Iḷayāngudi	Māṟ. Śundara - 11th year (unidentified)
	Taccan Kūli (Stone mason or carpenter)	1 accu (yielding 4 kalams of paddy as interest)
1/1983	Muḍikkarai	Jat. Sundara 10 years

3 bonded labour - (Sanmar) sold for 10 paṇam in the name of śēnāpati - nāyanār (Visvaksena) for the Viṣṇu temple.

L

676/1916	Sērmādēvi	Kulaśēkhara 7th year
	Stone mason	a) Svatantram 4 nāḻi of cooked rice per day
		b) Kuṟuṇi paddy per mā from lands in certain ayacuts belonging to the Viṣṇsu Temple.

M

339/1916	Tiruvālīśvaram	Jat. Vīra
	Vedapārāyanam	6 nāḷi per day 22 kalam kuruṇi and 9 nāḷi per year.
		Land was assigned in substitution with both Mēlvāram and Kuḍivāram and the Brahmin was free to induct any tenant of his choice therein.

N

SII XXVI/521	Cōḷapuram (Śrivilliputtūr Tk)	Vīra Pāṇḍya (1258-1259)
	Stone mason for pavement to be done with stone	1 accu

O

79/1927	Tirunelvēli		Māṟ. Kulaśekhara (AD 1291)
	Carpenter	Kāni land	
	Washerman	"	assigned when forming a Brahmadēya
	Pranopakari (apōthecary)	"	

P

66/1727	Tirunelvēli		Pāṇḍya Vikrama 6th year
	Provision made for instrumentalist		
	Ariyam paduvan Vacciyan Mattaḷam Idakkai vāśippān Mattam Kaṅgu (Tāḷam)	6 persons	2 mā to yield 10 kalams plus a seed bed land - mukkāṇi

Q

67/1927 Tirunelvēli

Nrttavādyam (Dance troupe)

Āriyampāttu	2 kāśu
Mattaḷam	2 kāśu
Idakkai	1½ kāśu
"	2 kāśu
"	2 kāśu
Kañja (Tāḷam) Rhythm keeper	1½ kāśu
	11 kāśu

plus 8 mā of land

R

39/1927 Tirunelvēli Konerinmaikoṇḍān

8 gardeners	½ vēli or 10 mā
2 Kaivitharigal (supervision)	1 mā per head
10	

Note : Already mention has been made of the accredited stone mason's wages and their foregoing their rights of first engagement in favour of a matha. Please see page.

S

—/1984-85 Tolaivillimaṅgalam Date not available

Cleaner	3 nāḷi paddy	11 13/32 kalams per year
Firewood supplier	4 "	15 5/24 "
Cook	5 "	18 kalams "
Potter	Kuruṇi	30 5/12 kalams "

	Mopper of floor in the matha	4 nāḷi	15 5/24 kalams "
	Executive in the matha	Tūṇi	121 2/3 kalams "
	Kuṟuval (dehusking or sundry work)	3 nāḷi	11 13/32 "

T

374/1972-73 Taruvai Kōnērinmai Kondān

Sivabrāhmana	3 Kuṟuṇi of cooked rice per day	Kal. 228	Tuṇi 1	nāḷi 4

(At the standard rate or 5 : 2 : Paddy : rice recovery.

Pipers 1 kuṟuṇi = 30 5/12 kalams per year

Dancing girl for Tiruvandikkāppu	5 nāḷi uri rice	Per year - 52 kal. 3 nāḷi, 1 uḷakku paddy.
Dancing girl		
Cleaner of floor		
Dancer	4 nāḷi uri	39 kalam
Flower garland planter	rice	2 Tūṇi
preparing sandal, turmeric		2 kuṟuṇi
for Thiruvandikāppu		6 nāḷi
		1 uri

U

SII VIII/444 Tiruccendūr Kollam 650 AD 1474

- for 10 days' festival service

Server (Paricārakar) Rice 4 nāḷi - ¼ kōṭṭai 2 paṇam

Potter 6 koṭṭai + 1/16 per 10 days

Mattāval (sundry labour) 4 persons - 4 nāḷi per day
= For 10 days 1 kalam, 2 tūṇi

Garland plaiter 1 kōṭṭai paṇam 12 ū 3 paṇam

Supervisor for 10 days · kōṭṭai, paṇam 5. Price of 1 kōṭṭai paddy - 4 paṇams.

Scale of provisions and prices and the relatives gradations among the various commodities of every day use for food offerings.

Inscriptions of the early Pandyan rulers and of the Imperial Cōlas threw a flood of light on the commodities in use, and their prices in terms of paddy or cash, as the case may be. They also give the scales of food served for the Brahmins, a pot-full of rice (Śatti sōṟu) and also offerings to the deity. Similar data are comparatively lacking in the medieval Pāṇdyan inscriptions. They mostly make a grant in lump of the land dues or land or land yield for the various services.

The typical data on the scale of offerings, commodities required and their prices in terms of paddy and cash, and the annual value computed are tabulated in the statements appended, covering the period 1011 to 1472 (11th to 15th century) (Table 3). There are a few more inscriptions of the 16th century (for eg. TAS IX p.7 from Pallakkal (AD 1502) SII V 750 Sermadevi (AD 1542)) but these fall outside the study period and the value of coinage also indeterminate. The tenable inferences that can be drawn are set out below.

The force of "longue duree" is evident. The ratio of recovery of rice to paddy was 2:5 throughout from the tenth to the fourteenth century, though earlier it was 8:6 (vide Anamalai inscription of Parantaka I - for 15. This would suggest earlier there was more of bran content and later dehusking of paddy was more. Ghee, and fried curries, and starchy rice were food-items very commonly used. This could not be considered to be a balanced diet, and the comment applies to the Brahmin literati, and priestly class. Even among other sections, the quantum of rice used was disproportionate.

The level of prices in terms of paddy was steady. Changes noticed during the period (11th to 14th century) were within a narrow band. Commodities locally produced and available, and pulses were priced in terms of paddy. But pepper, camphor, akil (aloe-wood), sandal and gur and clothing were priced invariablly in cash. By and large, bartar should have been prevalent. The interest yield of paddy deposits was at a higher rate; perhaps because paddy over a period, will perish or deteriorate due to weevil action or rats eating away the grain.

A variety of cloth were produced. This has been noticed even in the Tiruccendūr inscription of Varaguṇa Mahārāja. The cloth used for curtain were priced lower than the cloth worn by the temple servants. The former needed only 1½ akkam and the latter 2 kāśu per year. The proportion of betel nuts to betel is rather larger than in present day practice of chewing.

A few terms like "Pōl kari" and "ennāpūri" baked in fire are not clear. "Old rice" was preferred to the newly harvested and dehusked rice.

Table 3

Scale of provision, prices of commodities in terms of paddy, or in terms of cash, and annual requirements computed from AD 1011 to 1474.

S II V/724	A. Gangaikondān	Rajaraja I 1011 AD	
	Paddy :	Rice recovery : 5 : 2	1 Tūṇi : 1 nāḻi Uḻakku 23 + 1 = 33 nāḻi ¼ nāḻi 33¼ nāḻi = 3 nāḻi $\frac{3}{33}\ \frac{1}{11} \times 100 = 9\frac{1}{11}\%$ (interest rate)
	Paddy price	1 Kāsu : 8 Akkam : 7 kalams	
	Prices		
		Curry 5 x 3 services	3 nāḻi
		Curds	1 uri curd = 1 nāḻi paddy
		(nāḻi uri) = 3 nāḻi	(nāḻi paddy)
		Ghee : Āḻākku x 3 = 3 āḻākku	Ghee
		appam : $\frac{1}{4}$ āḻākku	1 uri = 8 nāḻi paddy (kuṟuṇi) 1 nāḻi = 15 nāḻi paddy (2 kuṟuṇi)
		Arecanuts = 16 = 2 nāḻi	
		Betel = 64 = 4 nāḻi	
		Sandal = ½ kāśu per year	
		Ghee for lamps = 1 kāśu = 40 nāḻi of paddy or 5 kuṟuṇi	
		Oil 5 nāḻi = 2 akkam or ¼ kāśu	
		Clothing - 2 kāśu deposit/per year	
		Oil 6 nāḻi	
		Gur 2 akkam (¼ kāśū)	

Source	Place	Item	Equivalent	Rate	Paddy	Remarks
		720 palam =	4½ kāśu (i.e. per kāśu = 160 palam) or 7 kalams or paddy	1 kalam paddy will get 22 6/7 or 23 palams of gur.		
		Viṣu, ayanam - bath	= 4¼ akkam			
		For bath per year	= 2 akkam			
		Yāmanikai (curtain) cloth - 2 =	2 akkam			
		1 =	½ akkam)			
S II IV 191-192 B.	Attūr	Mār. Vikrama Cōlapāṇḍya 25 (Acc. AD 1040) ṇ AD 1065.				
				Rate	Paddy	
		Old Rice 10 nāḻi	= Paddy 6 nāḻi	1 nāḻi	= 3 nāḻi	
		Milk kuṟuṇi (8 nāḻi)	= Padakku 2 nāḻi	1 nāḻi	= 2¼ nāḻi	
		Gur 2 palam	= Paddy kuṟuṇi	24 palams =	1 kalam	Compares favourably with the price in AD 1011 in Gaṅgai-koṇḍan
		Fried curry	= 2 nāḻi			
		Ghee Uḻakku	= Paddy Kuṟuṇi	1 nāḻi =	32 nāḻi or 4 kuṟuṇi	
		Arecanuts	= 4 nāḻi			
		Pots, firewood	= 7 nāḻi			
		Lotus flowers 100	= 4 nāḻi			

(2) For feeding 15 Sivabhramanas @ per individual 2 nāḻi rice = Rice 3 Kuṟuṇi 6 nāḻi

Ghee - uri			
Gur palam	Curry 3		
Pot		Areanut 30	Per Amāvāsya
Dhall - 2 nāḻi	Leaf-curry 1	Betel - 30	Kalam - 2 tūṇi - Padakku - 2 nāḻi
Curd kuṟuṇi			Per year (assuming 12 Amāvāsyas)
Salt, Server	Tamarine	Firewood supplier	22 kalams, 1 padakku, 1 kuṟuṇi
	Pepper	The cleaner of the floor	
		Paddy-husker	

(3) For Sivayōgis

Pot of cooked Rice (Saṭṭi-sōṟu) -		
Rice	2 nāḻi	
Pōlkari	5	
Ghee	1 piḍi	
curds		
Salt		per day kuṟuṇi - 2 nāḻi - per year 37 kalams - Tūṇi padakku
Tamarind		
Pepper		
Arecanut	2	
Betel	5	
Cook-server		
Firewood supplier		

Interest for 2 kāśu = Mango, plantain 5 per day whenever available.
If fruits are not available, eṇṇā pūri (baked) and supplied.

C. Ibid 192

For Pañcagavyam Āttūr AD 1065

			Paddy	
Milk nāḷi	=	Paddy 2 nāḷi	1 nāḷi = 2 nāḷi	¼ nāḷi less than in 191
Curd : uri	=	Paddy 1 nāḷi	1 nāḷi = 2 nāḷi	same rate as in AD 1011
Ghee : uḷakku	=	Paddy 5 nāḷi	1 nāḷi = 20 nāḷi or 2½ kuṛuṇi	Lesser rate than in the epigraph SII V/191 above.
Cow's urine				should be intereior quality.
dung	=	Paddy uri		

9 Kalasams of Pūrnakumbham			6 nāḷi paddy	
Cloth for wearing for bath			Paddy, Tūṇi	Rate
Curds :	2 nāḷi	=	4 nāḷi paddy	1 nāḷi = 2 nāḷi
Arecanut	8	=	2 nāḷi paddy	
Betel	32			
For supplying flowers		=	4 nāḷi	
Miḍā (vessels)	2			
Saṭṭi	4	=	6 nāḷi paddy	
Olomi (laddles)	2			
Firewood		=	1 nāḷi	
Priest		=	Kuṛuṇi	Per year 30½ kalams
Deposit - 65 kalams of paddy				
interest @ 50%		=	32 kalam - Tūṇi Padakku	

D.	ARE 401/1930	Attūr	Vīra Rājendra - 4 AD 1067
	Commodity	Paddy	Rate
	Curd 2	= paddy nāḷi uri	
	Ghee for frying curry		
	Ghee for serving		
	Ghee 1 Sevidu		
	Ghee 2 Sevidu		
	Curds - uri	= Nāḷi uḷakku	Per nāḷi = 2 nāḷi, 1 uri
	Ghee Āḷākku	= 1 nāḷi paddy	1 nāḷi ghee = 8 nāḷi paddy or kuḷuṇi
	Arecanut 2, Betal 8		
	Firewood supplier	= Uḷakku, aḷākku (per day)	Per year 1 kalam - 1 tūṇi, nāḷi
	Mantra pushpam supplier and water supplier	= Per day Paddy, Padakku 4 nāḷi.	Per year 76 5/24 kalam
E.	439/1984-85	Tolaivillimangalam	Raj. Kulottunga I
	Old rice - Padakku	= Paddy (Tūni, Kuruṇi)	–
	Kuṟuval (sundry worker)	= 3 nāḷi	
	curry	= 3 nāḷi	
	curds 1 nāḷi	= 2 nāḷi uri	Rate same as in AD 1067 Uri paddy more than in AD 1011.
	Salt & pepper	= 3 nāḷi	
	Nuts 8, Betel 8	= 1 nāḷi	
	Food served	Kummāyam (boiled pulses, greengram, fried curry, leaf curry, peppered baked curry, tamarind curry - 5 varieties.	
F.	ARE 351/1916	Tiruvālīsvaram	Māṟ. Sundara 8 = 1 = 1 = (10)
	Betel 80	= 2 Paṟṟu - leaves (betel 7)	To be supplied from the Ātalasundaram tope endowed.
	Against Kadamai 8 dramman	= 40 arecanuts	
	7 Plantain clusters per year.		

G. ARE 301/1910 — Aḻagarkōil — Jat. Kulaśēkhara (I) (4 + 4) = 8

Sandal	= Kaḻañju	
Camphor	= 4 mā	
Kumkumam	= 2 mañjādi	
Preparing akil :		
Dhall	= Kuṟuṇi	To defray the expenses :
Rice	= Kuṟuṇi	Land ¾ veli yielding land dues of 60 kalams,
Ghee	= Nāḻi	kāsu 3½ in Cōḻa Kēraḷāntaka Cm.
Fried curry	= Āḻākku ghee	
Curries	= 64 palam	
Gur	= 1 palam	
Pepper	= Uḻakku	
Cummings seeds	= ½ seviḍu	
Salt	= Uri	
Betelnut	= 32	
Betel	= 1 bundle	

Food & sandal offerings : for preparing bath - half, other services - 15 kalams.

H. (i) SII V/430 — Tirunelvēli — Kulaśekhara 13 + 9 = 22

Scale of offerings for Subramaṇya and his consorts.

Rice	= Kuṟuṇi
Curry	= 5 palam
Pepper	= 2½ seviḍu
Ghee	= Āḻākku
Betelnut	= 12
Betel	= 24
Lamps - 12	= Ghee uḻakkaḻākku

Every Kārtigai day festival - double the scale

(ii) Ibid/442 For the same deity, for the mid-night, sēva To be met from anantarayan dues

	Rice	= 2 nāḷi	granted and Karaṇmai rights on 2
	For morning service	= 2 nāḷi	makkani land.
		4 nāḷi	Jat. Kulasekhara - 13 + 13
I. SII VIII/444		Tiruccendūr	Kollam 650 AD 1474 Tiruvaḍi charge?

Even in the 15th Century recovery of rice to paddy ratio was 2 : 5

For bath & festival per day - Paddy (Padukku) 2 nāḷi

For ten days = 1 1/16 kōṭṭai

For pots - 1 paṇam per day

For 10 days - 10 paṇams

For cook service : per 1 - Rice - 1 measure = 4 nāḷi paddy

For 10 days : Kōṭṭai ; paṇam 2

To be defrayed from the Koluvāram yield (after paying off mēlvāram) from lands purchased in Ilamakkulam.

(Kaivittari) - 4 nāḷi.

For 10 days - ¼ kōṭṭai ; paṇam 5.

Potter (for 10 days) Kōṭṭai 6 mākkāṇi

Muttāval 4 - per individual 4 nāḷi kōṭṭai 1, paṇam 12

Garlands - ¼ kōṭṭai

Three food offerings - 1½ kōṭṭai

Lamp & Uḷakku oil per day = 7 nāḷi uri paddy

Evening lamp Ālākku - 3 nāḷi, 3 uḷakku paddy

Total 11 nāḷi 3 uḷakku = per month 3½ paṇam for 12 months 42 paṇams.

Curry - Ghee - betel - arecanut and the Sabhaiyār who implement the festival - ½ kōṭṭai

Total paddy 69 5/8 paṇam 71.

Per koṭṭai of paddy = 4 paṇam. Paddy for paṇam 71 = 17¾ koṭṭai - Total : Paddy : 87 3/8 koṭṭai

The yield of the endowed ayacut per year

On lease rental basis	180 koṭṭai	
Land dues to King	40 "	= 22 21/9 of the rental
Balance	140 koṭṭai	
For withering & unyielding	52 5/8	The rate of loss should be high
Balance	87 3/8	koṭṭai

For the beacon oil, sandal, betel & nuts - the yield of dry & tope lands granted

Note: (I) This detailed account characteristic of Tiruvaḍi Chief's allocation is given to give a comparative idea of the prices and cost in the period just outside the study period.

(ii) The standard measure is changed from kalam to koṭṭai which is equal to 2 koṭṭai.

V. Land Sale prices

Though numerous inscriptions refer to the sale of land and many give the price paid still there are difficulties in deriving meaningful inferences. The condition of the land sold was often waste and it had to be reclaimed. Tanks has to be repaired. Scrub jungle should have needed clearing. These should have entered into the consideration paid. The extent of the land sold is also not available in many cases. The proportion of land price per se was only a fraction of the total price. The capitalisation for land due payments was in one case 5 times the price of the land per se. In the 22nd year of Kulōttunga I, the *Ūrārs* of Āttūr sold 1 *kāṇi* of land (¼ *mā*) for ½ *kāśu*. But the land tax deposit was 2· *kāśu*, five times the land price per per se ; on realising the amount the *Ūrār* agreed to bear the land levies.[16] The soil fertility could have also varied from the river fed to the rainfed tracts. Even in channel-fed ayacuts, the lands near the head-sluice, middle of the command and at the tail-end were distinguished. The coinage too varied from time to time and no derivation of their nexus can be made.

The following are a few typical cases of land of sales.

Table 4

Reference (1)	Place (2)	Character of land (3)	Ruler & date (4)	Price rate (5)
S I. IV/412	Tirunelvēli	River fed	Jat Kulaśēkhara I A.D. 1202	1 mā = 2 kāśu
466/1930	Āttūr	River fed	Mār Kulaśēkhara 5th year	1 mā = 3 accu
465/1930	Āttūr	A sale of habitat and garden in the 7th year of the same reīgn does not reveal the price.		
104/1916	Tirukkaḷakkuḍi	Rain fed	Jat. Sundara 8th year	1 mā = 10 Rāsi paṇam
478/1930	Śēndamaṅgalam	–	Tr. Kulaśēkhara	2 mā = 1 Accu
95/1908	Tiruppattūr	Well-irrigated	Kulaśēkhara	50 kāśu

The last purchase was by the Mūlaparuḍaiyār from a Brahmin. The land had a well to irrigate and presumably the high price paid could attributed to this facility. The extent is not known.

VI. Yield of cows and trees

In an earlier chapter we have noticed how the yield of milch cattle and sheep was poor. It was almost stagnent in the entire period of study from the 9th to 14th

century. The price of sheep and cows also appeared to be low. The reason is not far to seek. The livestock condition was not improved and there was no knowledge of the process for improving it. Further data collected from the epigraphs confirm the observations made earlier.

In Ānaiyūr (Tirumangalam Tk.) in about AD 1022, 16 cows yielded 4 nāḷi ; i.e. 1 cow yielded · nāḷi.[17] In Tiruvālīśvaram in the reign of Māṟ Vikrama Cōḷapāṇḍya, 13 cows were needed to feed 1 lamp,[18] and 25 sheep for · lamp.[19] This last is confirmed by the provision of 100 sheep for 2 lamps in Jet Śrīvellabha's time in Tentirupūvanam.20 (AD 1107) In Sēranmādēvi, in the same reign 50 sheep cost 90 dramam i.e. 1 4/5 Dramam) per sheep (the mēni of the draman is not given).[21] In the 2nd year of Jat. Kulaśēkhara, a cow and a calf cost 1½ accu at Mārandai.[22]

In Tirumalai (Rāmnād dt.) in the 6th year of Śrī Vallabha in an endowment by the Queen herself, 96 sheep were equated to 30 cows. Adding 70 cows, 100 cows yielded per day 10 nāḷi. Thus 1 cow could give 1/10 nāḷi or 4 seviḍu of milk.[23] In Tirunelveli for 30 cows endowed the shepyard agreed to deliver ghee at 1 nāḷi and 1 uri.[24] in all for anointing on every Aṣṭhami day and uri ghee for the Piḷḷaiyār

In Tiruvadavur[25] in the reign of Mar. Kulaśēkhara, 132 sheeps could deliver per day uri ghee or 30 sheep yielded 1 ālakku ghee.

The clinching evidence of Pirānmalai of AD 1306.[26] (Mar. Kulaśēkhara I) that 6 cows yielded 1 nāḷi, i.e., per cow 1/6 nāḷi of 6 2/3 seviḍu is only a marginal improvement over the yield of 4 seviḍu in Tiumalai cited above.[26]

The yield of mangoes from a tree is recorded in a late inscription of S 1635 in Karuṅgālakkuḍi[27]. It had taken 9 years for 8 mango trees planted in Vijaya year to yield which it did in Subhakrit.

These data could indicate that both in animal husbandry or horticulture. The level of technology was stagnant for centuries. The stock and their breed being the same was static not was there any possibility of their yield improving over the period 9th to the 14th century. The inference already drawn for an earlier period gets fully confirmed by the conclusive evidence pertaining to these centuries.[28]

FOOTNOTES

1. I III 106
2. SII V 724
3. 442 / 1930
4. 239 / 1933
5. 218 / 1933
6. 284 / 1923
7. SII V / 439
8. 312 / 1949-50
9. 297 /1930
10. 455, 456, 460 / 1916
11. 416 / 1916
12. 492 / 1962-3
13. 485 / 1958-59
17. 506 / 62-63
18. S 11 XIV / 187
19. SII XIV / 196
20. 474 / 1916
21. SII XIV / 209
22. 311 / 1918
23. 51 / 1927
24. SII V / 426
25. 472 / 62-63
26. SII VII / 427
27. ARE 158 / 1973
28. The author could testify from his personal boyhood experience that the yield of gift cows to Prohits in villages, usually for the merit of the deceased, generally was only Āḻākku or uḻakku milk per day even in the thirtees of this century.

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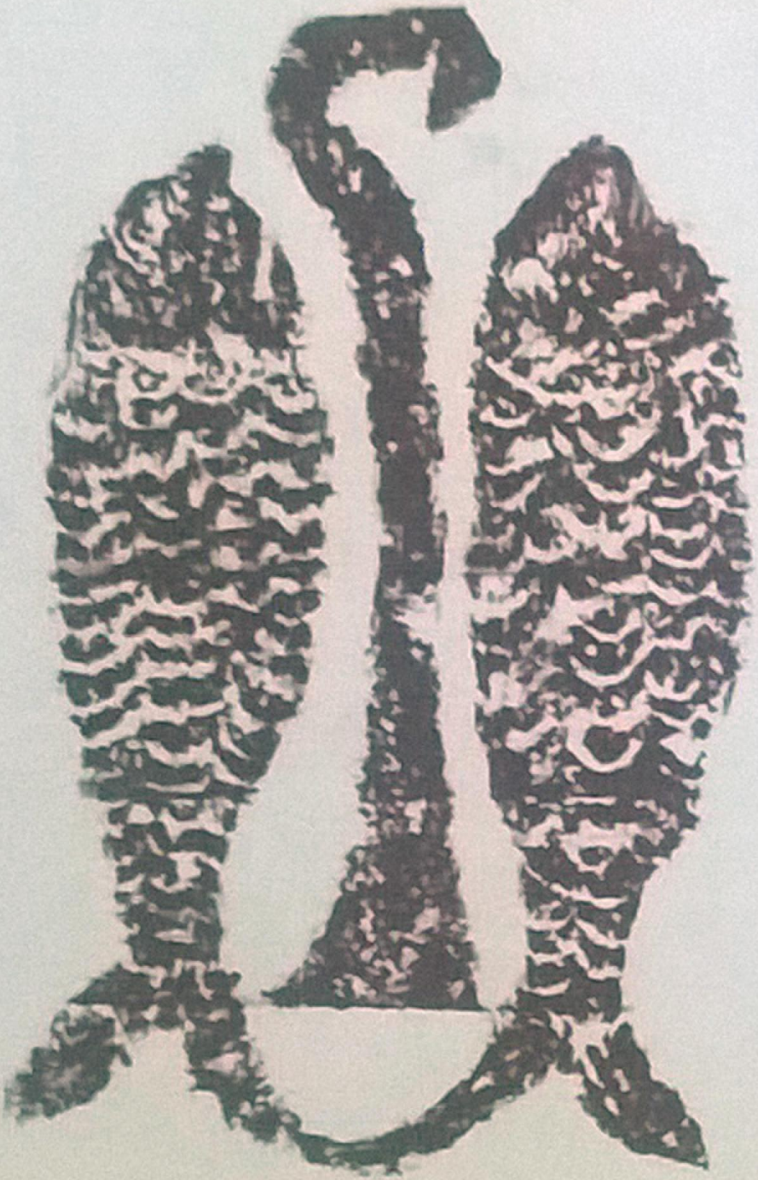

Pandyan Emblem

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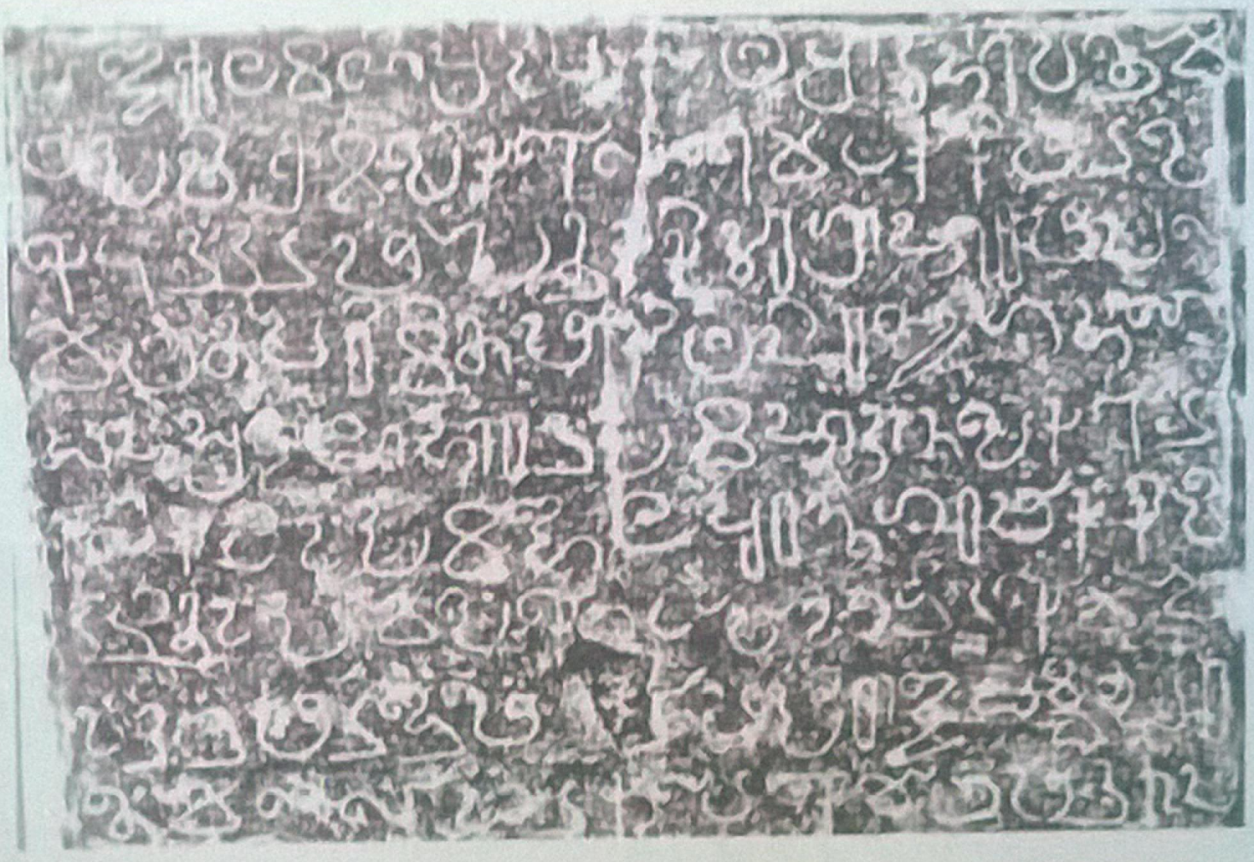
THE PANDYAN TOWNSHIPS

PART - II



R. TIRUMALAI